



**ZAKAULLAH**

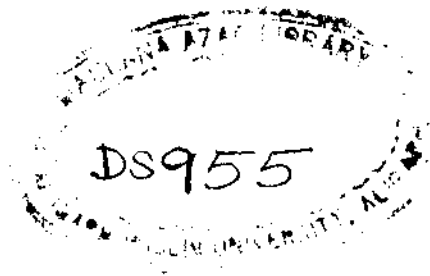
DISSERTATION SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF  
**Master of Philosophy**  
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BY  
**SATYA PRAKASH**  
*Enrolment No. K-2357*

Under the supervision of  
**Dr. MUHAMMAD ZAKI**

Centre of Advanced Study  
Department of History  
Aligarh Muslim University  
Aligarh

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**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY  
ALIGARH-202001**

**28.7.1986.**

**Certified that Mr. Satya Prakash has  
worked under my supervision to prepare the  
dissertation entitled "Zakwillah". I consider  
it suitable for the submission for the award  
of the degree of Master of Philosophy in  
History.**

  
**(Dr. Muhammad Zaki)**



ZAKAULLAH OF DELHI.

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## **PREFACE**

The first half of the 19th century was a turning point and one of the most critical phases of Indian History. The glory of the Mughals was fading away and the British imperialism was gaining roots in India. The political leaders and military generals of India, weakened by internecine wars, had been decisively defeated and eliminated. The last attempt - the Revolt of 1857, sealed the fate of Indian rulers. The Indian dominion passed from the hands of British East India Company to the British Crown.

The British rule threw up new challenges and presented numerous complicated problems to which the Indians including the Muslims had to respond.

In spite of political set back, economic exploitation and social chaos, India produced a galaxy of scholars and reformers in various fields, for instance, Raja Ram Mohun Ray, Henry Vivian Derozio, Debendranath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Maulana Shibli Naumani, Muhammad Husain Asad, Zakauliah.

Maulvi Zakauliah born in 1832 was brought up in Delhi. He was deeply influenced by these

forces and climate of the time. He inherited certain traditions from the decaying past but prepared himself to meet the challenge of the time.

He devoted himself to the cause of education and adopted Urdu as the medium, wrote and translated more than 150 books and several hundred articles. Probably he is the only Indian scholar, at least belonging to this period, who wrote so many books.

Divided into four chapters, the present dissertation is an humble attempt to present a life sketch and assess the contribution of Zakauddin in various branches of learning.

## INTRODUCTION

Maulvi Zakauliah<sup>1</sup> (1832-1910), as he is popularly known, was a great scholar and versatile genius of the 19th century. Besides more than 150 books on various subjects he has written a comprehensive history of India from the ancient to the modern period, known as Tarikh-e-Hindustan. It is a pioneer work in the field of Urdu historeography. Barring a few references in the works of modern writers, no systematic attempt has been made to assess his role in the development of Urdu historeography particularly related to medieval India. In the present dissertation, an attempt has been made to study his life and works particularly relating to history. For this purpose the following sources have been consulted.

The works of Zakauliah throw little light on his family background, early life, education etc. except a few references contained in his Farhang-e-Farhang where he enumerates his published and unpublished works and articles. We, therefore, have to rely upon the information supplied by contemporary or near contemporary writers.

Zakauliah of Delhi by C.F. Andrews. Andrews was a Bishop who came to India in 1904. On his arrival at Delhi, he

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1. His full name was Matasim Billah, Zakauliah.

met Zakaullah and both developed friendly relations. Later he wrote Zakaullah's biography mainly based on the information gathered by him during his conversation with Zakaullah. This biography is known as Zakaullah of Delhi. The book was published from Cambridge in 1929. In this book the stress is on the life of Zakaullah rather than his contribution in various fields. It does not throw light on Zakaullah's career as student or as a teacher etc. Despite these drawbacks it is the primary and reliable source for the life of Zakaullah. It has been translated into Urdu by Ziauddin Ahmed Barani.

Yade-Ayyam of Abdur Rasheed Kanpuri. It is also a biographical work containing information about Urdu writers including Zakaullah. The compiler was a contemporary of and had close relations with Zakaullah. He gives a brief but valuable biographical sketch of Zakaullah.

Hand-e-Urdu by Maulvi Hafiz Jalaluddin Ahmed Jafri Zainabi. It was first published from Allahabad in 1917 and again in 1923. It is a text book prescribed for High School students, containing brief biographical notices and selected poems and articles of outstanding Urdu-writers<sup>1</sup> including Zakaullah. Although it is literary work,

1. It contains selection from the works of the following prose writers and poets:

Meer Aman Dehalvi, Mirza Rajab Ali Beg Suroor, Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghali, Maulvi Ghulam Imam Shaheed,

contd..

its significance lies in the fact that the compiler was the contemporary of Zakauddin and seems to have been quite familiar with his works. He gives some important dates and vital information about other works of Zakauddin.

Siyarul-Musannifin by Maulvi Muhammad Yahya Tanha published from Delhi in 1924. This is also one of the major sources for the life and works of Zakauddin. The author completed the first volume in 1924, fourteen years after the death of Zakauddin. He, therefore, was one of the contemporaries of Zakauddin.

Siyarul-Musannifin, as the title itself suggests, is a biographical work dealing with Urdu prose writers. It also contains detailed biographical references to Urdu scholars who flourished during the period between 1798 and 1914. The

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f.n. contd. from prev.

Honourable Dr Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Khan Bahadur Munshi Ghulam Ghas Bekhabar, Maulvi Muhammad Husain Azad, Maulvi Zakauddin Khan Bahadur, Maulvi Nazeer Ahmad Dehalvi, Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar, Khwaja Altaaf Husain Hali, Shamsul-ulama Maulvi Shibli Saumani, Maulvi Abdul Haleem Sharar Abbasi, Maulvi Abdul Rasheed Sahib Dehalvi, Mirza Muhammad Rafi Souda, Khwaja Meer Dard, Meer Muhammad Taqi Meer, Sheikh Imam Bakhsh Nasikh, Khwaja Haidar Ali Atish, Sheikh Muhammad Ibrahim Zog, Meer Babar Ali Ancees, Mirza Salamat Ali Dabeer, Munshi Amirullah Tasleem, Khwaja Altaaf Husain Hali, Dr Muhammad Iqbal M.A., Khan Bahadur Syed Akbar Husain Rizvi.

compiler gives detailed information about the works of Zakauddin. It supplies much more information than contained in the works of Andrews, A.R. Kanpuri and Maulvi Jalaluddin,

Dastan-e-Tarikh Urdu of Hamid Hasan Jadri published from Agra in 1938. It is on the pattern of Siyar-ul-Musannifin. Regarding Zakauddin Jadri closely follows Siyar-ul-Musannifin and adds little to it.

Besides these biographical works a number of other contemporary and modern works and articles throwing light on the historical background and assessment of Zakauddin's contribution have also been consulted and indicated in the foot notes.

The dissertation has been divided into four chapters. The first chapter titled, "The Historical Perspective", deals with the political, social and economic conditions of the first half of the 19th century India, specially Delhi and the cultural forces which moulded the personality and shaped the out-look of Zakauddin. The second chapter deals with the family background, early life, educational career and various posts held by Zakauddin. In the third chapter the literary works of Zakauddin have been assessed. The fourth chapter is devoted to "Historical

works of Zakaulah" . It has been divided into two parts. First Part deals with the traditions of historiography inherited by Zakaulah and his own concept of history writing. In the second part the historical works of Zakaulah specially his Tarikh-e-Hindustan have been critically evaluated.

## Chapter I

### HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Zakaullah flourished during that part of the 19th century which was a crucial and turning point in the history of India.

The period is marked with political upheavals, the financial crisis and socio-religious chaos. The Mughal Empire collapsed, and the British empire emerged and ushered in an era of political economic and social transformation. It was a challenge to the Indians and they had to response to the new forces released by the establishment of the British Empire. It generated forces which assumed the forms of several movements that dominated the political and social scene of India throughout the 19th century.

Like other communities of India, Muslims also responded to this challenge. Zakaullah was one of the outstanding personalities of the 19th century who played an important role in the educational development of the Muslims during this period.

Therefore, in order to comprehend Zakaullah and assess his contribution, it appears necessary to have a cursory look into the historical perspective especially of Delhi during the first half of the 19th century.



### HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Mughal Empire had begun to disintegrate after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. His weak successors could not check the rapid disintegration of the Empire.

Fifty years after Aurangzeb's death, the Marathas had emerged as supreme power in the south, except where the newly founded dynasty of the Nizam kept them at arms length, and were pushing their way through Gujarat upto Delhi. The Rajputs had ceased to acknowledge the Mughal supremacy. The Sikhs were gradually winning the mastery over the Punjab from the Afghans. The Jats were practically independent near Agra. Oudh was virtually a separate state and so was Bengal. The battles of Plassey (1757), Buxar (1764) and Seringapatam (1799) had sealed the fate of the Mughals.

On September 11, 1803, after a rapid advance enroute, Farrukhabad, Kanpur and Koil (Aligarh), General Lake appeared before Delhi, near the village Patparganj, East of the Jamuna. The Maratha garrison of nineteen thousand, offered his resistance. The British forces consisted of two regiments of native cavalry, and seven of native infantry. Although it was relatively a small force yet the battle from 3 a.m. to 7 p.m. resulted in the complete route of the Marathas.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Durga Prasad Gulistan-i-Hind. Sandila, 1897, p.271.

After the British conquest the imperial city Delhi lost its dignity<sup>1</sup>, and for all practical purposes the Mughal Emperor remained only a puppet of the British power.<sup>2</sup>

Shah Alam II the blinded<sup>3</sup> Mughal Emperor honoured Lake with Samsam-ud-Daula Ash ghar-ul-Mulk, Khan-e-Dauran General Gerard Lake Bahadur Path Jung.<sup>4</sup> The Company appointed colonel Ochterlony,<sup>5</sup> The Resident at Delhi. In 1805 the status besides the pension amounting Rs. 100,000 a small

1. "Delhi really ceased to be an imperial seat with the death of Muhammad Shah in 1748, or may be called just after a century at the completion of the palace generally called Red Fort as a symbol of grandeur and glory and also of power by Shahjahan".

H.C. Fanshawe. Shahjahan's Delhi, Past & Present, Delhi, 1969, pp. 4-5.

2. In 1827, Lord Amharast declared their independence of the Indian ruler (Sir Syed Azab baghawat-i-hind, Delhi, 1971, p.92).

The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XI, New Delhi (rep. 1908) p. 236 Henry Sarp. Delhi, its story and buildings, London, Hamphrey Punjab District gazetteer, vol. V A (n.p.) 1912, pp. 30-31.

3. Ghulam Qadir Ruhila forcibly entered the Delhi fort in 1788 and demanded the treasure from the Emperor who pleaded if he had a treasure why he would have sold his ornaments in order to pay the salaries of his servants. Upon Ghulam Qadir blinded the Emperor in 1788.
4. R.N. Gordon. Seven cities of Delhi, W. Thacker & Co. 1906, p. 255.
5. Deputy Adjutant General of the Company's troops.

piece of land was assigned to Shah Alam II by the Company.<sup>1</sup> The only power left with the Mughal Emperor was that no death sentence could be executed either in the Fort or within the land assigned to him without his permission.<sup>2</sup>

In 1806 Shah Alam died and was buried in the royal enclosure near the shrine of Khwaja Kutbuddin. He was succeeded by his son Muinuddin who adopted the title of Akbar Shah II, but had still lesser power than his father.<sup>3</sup> He is reported to have been continuously requesting the Company to enhance his pension. Lord Minto considered his request in 1809 and his pension was enhanced<sup>4</sup> to Rs. one lac per month.

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1. Durga Prasad op. cit., p. 271;

Zakaullah, Tarikh-e-Hindustan. (Sultanat-e-Ahd-e-Islamia ka bayan) Vol. IX, Aligarh, 1337, A.H., p.343.

R.H. Gordan op. cit. p. 258.

Zakaullah gives the following breakup Rs. 60,000 personal pension of the Emperor, Rs. 20,000/- for his family and Rs. 10,000 for festive occasions.

2. R.H. Gordan, op. cit., p.258.

3. William Bales, Miftah-ut Tawarikh, Lucknow, Naval Kishor, 1867, p.375.

Durga Prasad op. cit., p.272; Zakaullah op. cit., p.344; R.H. Gordon, op. cit., p.259.

4. Zakaullah op. cit., p.344.

According to Zakaullah it was raised to Rs. 1,00,000. Probably it meant that Emperor personal pension, formerly Rs. 10,000 was raised to Rs. 1,00,000.

In 1808 his son Mirza Jahangir fired at the British Resident, Archibald Seltan, consequently Mirza was imprisoned and sent to Allahebad.<sup>1</sup>

William Fraser was appointed as the 'Agent' to the Governor General and on March 22, 1835, he was murdered. The charge of murder was levelled against Nawab of Firospur and consequently he was hanged in October.<sup>2</sup> After the assassination of the Agent, Thomas Theophilus Metcalf<sup>3</sup> was appointed on the same post.

Following the death of Akbar Shah II, his son Muhammed Sirajuddin ascended the throne in 1837 under the title of Bahadur Shah II. After the death of the heir-apparent (the name is not mentioned in the sources) of Bahadur Shah II in 1849, the question of succession was raised by the Governor General Lord Dalhousie. He constituted a committee to consider the matter. Fakhruddin, the second son was nominated as the heir apparent in 1850. The principal queen Zeenat Mahal however endeavoured to get her own son to be nominated in place of Fakhruddin (from another queen).

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1. Durga Prasad op. cit., p.274; R.N. Gordan op. cit., p.259.

2. Gordan, Ibid, p.260.

3. Metcalfe was assistant Resident Collector and Judge before this appointment.

Ibid.

The Emperor agreed to her plan but could not dare approach the Company to get it approved. Thomas Metcalf died on November 3, 1853 and was suspected of being poisoned by Zeenat Mahal. On July 10, 1856, Fakhruddin also died of poison and the Lord Canning had the question of succession to decide afresh. He caused Mirza Mohammad Korash to be recognized as the heir apparent but <sup>thus</sup> their prince was informed that after the King's death, he would only be styled as "Shazada" and would be given the reduced pension of fifteen <sup>the size</sup> rupees per mansum.<sup>1</sup> But the revolt of 1857 sealed his fate.

Though the last three emperors were the pensioners of the Company, nevertheless, the old etiquettes of court were maintained. The Emperor still held Darbars, conferred the honorific titles on the nobles and these titles were received by the ambitious men of good families. The King used to go to the great mosque on an elephant, Royal patronage of art and literature, however, continued, Bahadur Shah II, the last emperor was himself a good poet, and Ghalib and Zaun were patronized by him.<sup>2</sup>

1. Ibid, pp. 260-261.

2. Durga Prasad op. cit., pp. 272-273.  
Zakaullah op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 346.

Abdul Razzaq Kanpuri, Yade-Ayyam, Hyderabad Deccan, 1946, pp. 289-290.

Percival Spear, Delhi, a historical sketch Hamphrey, 1937 p.82.

The old Mughal gardens and palaces were in ruin, and the habitable city was confined within the walls of Shahjahanabad with a few suburbs in the direction Subzi Mandi and Paharganj, outside Kashmiri Gate, the new houses for the English masses were built culminating in mansion of T. Metcalf, on the banks of the Jamuna and six miles away to the north. The Shalimar garden were still used by the Resident. Within the city, the areas called Darya Ganj, between the fort and the Delhi gate became the commercial centre. To the South from the Delhi gate, ruins of tombs and mosques stretched away as far as the Daryabagh which had become a little country town used by the surviving nobility as a country retreat.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it may be said that in the first half of the 19th century city of Delhi was simply a historical museum not a city of the past glory, pomp and grandeur.

To worsen the economic condition of the Muslim the British confiscated their lands, the basic source of their income. ... Hunter remarked that "At an outlay of £ 8,00,000 upon resumption processings, an additional revenue of £ 3,00,000 a year was permanently gained by the State, representing a capital at 5% of six millions sterling. A large

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1. Durga Prasad op. cit., pp. 80-81.

part of this sum was derived from lands held rent free by Musalmans or by Muhammadan foundations. The panic and hatred which ensued have stamped themselves for ever on the rural records. Hundreds of ancient families were ruined, and the educational system of the Musalmans, which was almost entirely maintained by rent free grants, received its death blow. The scholastic classes of the Muhammadans emerged from the eighteen years of harrying absolutely ruined".<sup>1</sup>

The foreign invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah and the internal revolts had already destroyed the economy of the Mughal empire. After the battle of Buxar, the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam was kept under the protection of the East India Company at Allahabad and was paid a fixed amount per month. The emperor was laterly brought back to the capital by Mahadaji Sindhia who practically ruled over Delhi in the name of Emperor (1772-1803).

Since Akbar's time various religious missionaries from Europe had been visiting India. With the establishment of East India Company, the Christian missionaries also reached India to propogate their religion. These religious missionaries caused a feeling of hatred amongst the Indians and

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1. W.W. Hunter. The Indian Musalmans, 3rd Ed. Delhi Indological book, rep. 1969, p.177.

several religious movements were launched to defend the native faiths. In 1818 Delhi was declared the centre for Christian missionary activities.<sup>1</sup> A Radmond distributed handbills propagating that means of communication had brought India under one sway, so it should be brought under one religion viz. Christianity.<sup>2</sup>

Following the British conquest of Delhi Shah Abd-al-Aziz (1746-1824) son of Shah Waliullah (1703-1762) issued a Fatwah<sup>3</sup> declaring that India had ceased to be a Dar-al-Islam, thus making it obligatory on the Muslims to wage holy war against the British<sup>4</sup> and also called the Zimmis to cooperate with the Muslims. Thus this Fatwa was a landmark in Indian history.

Syed Ahmad of Rai Bareilly, (1786-1831), an spiritual disciple of Shah Abdul Aziz, oftenly dubbed as a wahabi<sup>5</sup>

1. Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. XI, p.277.

2. Sir Syed op. cit., p.35.

3. See Appendix

4. I.H. Qureshi, The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent (610-1947) Mouton & Company, Publishers, The Hague, The Netherlands, 1962, p.195.

..H. Farooqi, Deoband School and the Demand of Pakistan Bombay, Asia Pub. 1963, p.2.

5. "For their doctrines they have been called Indian Wahabis by some European writers. There were fundamental differences between the followers of 'Abd-ul-Wahab of Najd and of Shah & Ismail Shahid. The former did not reject the four schools of Juresprudence; indeed they called themselves the followers of the school of Imam Hanbal; The later were known as Ghair Muqallids, rejecting the complete acceptance of any single school and refusing to tie themselves to any interpretation, which they believed to be against a clear injunction of the Quran or the hadith".



gathered a large following in Northern India as well as in the South. In order to organise a massive army against the British he tried to win the support of rural population also.

Syed Ahmed and his follower, however, failed to resist the Sikh troops and the decisive battle of Balakot in May 1831 resulted in the martyrdom of Syed Ahmad of Rae Bareilly.<sup>1</sup>

The anti British call of Shah Abd-al Aziz and the movement of Syed Ahmad Shahid and his followers convinced some of the leaders of the Muslim Society that the policy of confrontation against the established government would be suicidal.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) one of the leading exponents of "Compromising" attitude towards the British, turned his attention to the Muslim education. He called upon the Muslims to reform their educational system and learn Western Sciences also. To achieve his aim he established a Scientific Society first in Bihar in 1862 then

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1. Guroshi, op. cit., p. 201.

Abdul Hasan Ali Nadwi, Seerat-e-Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed, Vol. II, Lucknow, 1977, pp. 447-449.

at Aligarh in 1864. The Chief aim of the society was to translate the English books on different subjects into Urdu. Sir Syed established a special branch of the Society which was called Society Akhbar-e-Urdu. As a Secretary of this society, he deputed Zakaullah to translate books on Mathematics.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the stiff opposition from all corners, Sir Syed established a bilingual institution at Aligarh to educate the people on the Western pattern. In this movement Zakaullah, Maulana Shibli and others played an important role.

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1. Yusuf Husain, Ed. *Selected Documents from the Aligarh Archives*, Bombay, Asia, Pub. 1967 pp. 104-105.

## Chapter II

### THE BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Just the one year after Syed Ahmad's martyrdom, Zakaullah son of Sanaulah was born in the month of April 1832 in a house situated between the Great mosque and the Delhi palace.<sup>1</sup>

The geneology of Zakaullah has been traced back to Hazrat Abu Bakr, the first pious Caliph. The family of Zakaullah is said to have provided teachers to the house of Timur. His ancestors are reported to have come to India during Mughal reign. Hafiz Muhammad Ali the remote ancestor of Zakaullah came to Lahore from Ghazni. The ruler of the time, it is claimed appointed him as a tutor (Ustad-e-aala) of the prince.<sup>2</sup> Muhammad Ali's son Muhammad Ibrahim was also

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1. C.F. Andrews, Zakaullah of Delhi, Cambridge 1929, p.47  
A.R. Kanpuri, *loc. cit.*, p. 285.

Garcin de Tassy, Risalah Tazkirat, p. 5.

J..J. Jafri Zainabi, Ward Urdu, Allahabad 1923, p. 133  
Mohd Yahya Tanha, Siyarul-musannifin, Vol. II, Delhi, 1928, p. 204.

Hamid Hasan Cadri, Dastan-e-Tarikh-e Urdu, Agra 1938, p.446.

Syed Abdullah: Sir Syed aur unke namwar rufaga ki Naar ka fikri aur fanny jaiza, Delhi (n.d.) p.222.

Asghar Abbas: Intikhab-e-Zakaullah, Lucknow, 1983, p.7.

2. Andrews *op. cit.*, p. 47.

The sources known so far do not refer to the names of the king and the prince.

appointed to the same post. Baqaulah and Sanaullah<sup>1</sup> son and grandson of Muhammad Ibrahim respectively, also served the royal family in the same capacity.<sup>2</sup>

The family was held in esteem and enjoyed royal favours till the fall of the Mughal Empire.<sup>3</sup>

Nothing is known about the early life and education of Zakaullah. It, however, may be presumed that his education might have started in the traditional manner.<sup>4</sup> Zakaullah at the age of twelve was admitted to the Delhi College<sup>5</sup> for higher education.<sup>6</sup> He, most probably, was the first

1. Ibid., pp. 49-50.

Sanaullah was the tutor of Mirza Koochak, the youngest son of Bahadurshah, the last Mughal Emperor.

2. Ibid., pp. 47-50.

3. On account of this relationship Zakaullah provided asylum to the sister of Bahadur Shah till she breathed her last. Ibid., pp. 117, 140.

4. The primary education of the child usually started with the ceremony known as Tasmiya-khwani or Maktab ceremony. When the child completed the age of four years, four months and four days, he was brought before an Alim or a pious saint. The teacher wrote Bismillah on a piece of wood and the child was made to recite it along with some other verses from the Quran. Then sweets were distributed and formal education started under a teacher. The child was taught the Quran, without explaining its meaning (called Magira).

M. Zaki, Organisation of Islamic learning under the Saiyids and Lodis of Medieval India (a Miscellany) Volume IV, Dept. of History, A.M.U., 1977, pp. 1-2.

5. Andrews, op. cit., p. 59.  
Nadri, op. cit., p. 447.

6. After the recognition of Delhi college by the East India Company in 1825, the subjects like European sciences were taught through the medium of Urdu language which attracted the students from the poor family too to receive the higher education.

among his family members to receive modern education. Inam Bakhsh Sehbai and Ram Chandra were some of the well known teachers of Zakaulah. The former taught him Arabic, Persian and the latter mathematics.<sup>1</sup> Zakaulah was an intelligent and meritorious student of his college. He received merit scholarship and several medals during his educational career at Delhi College.<sup>2</sup>

Zakaulah started his career as a teacher of Mathematics in Delhi College.<sup>3</sup> After some time he joined Agra College, where he taught Urdu and Persian for about seven years.<sup>4</sup> Later in 1858 he accepted the post of Deputy Inspector of Schools. He served in this capacity for about eleven years at various places including Bulandshahr and

1. Inam Bakhsh (Nom de plume, Sehbai), a teacher of Arabic & Persian in Delhi College was a poet and a prolific writer particularly an expert in writing persian enigmatical verses. His famous works include "Risala-e-Ganinah" and "Jawahar-e-manzoon", "Baza-e-Jawahar", a biography of Bahadur Shah Zafar, and "Insha-e-Makateeb" etc. (Sir Syed A. Khan tharussanadid, Delhi, 1905, pp. 630-33).

Ram Chandra (1829-1880) was a teacher of Mathematics in Delhi College and the author of several books on mathematics prescribed for the course of study. His main contribution to Mathematics was introduction of a new method of differential calculus - and a book on the problems of maxima & minima; (see Sayyida Jafar - Master Ram Chandra).

2. Sadri, op. cit., p. 449.
3. Ibid., p. 446.  
A R Kanpuri, op. cit., p. 446.  
Tanha, op. cit., pp. 204-205.  
Syed Abdullah, op. cit., p. 222. The scholars have not given the date of his appointment.
4. A. R. Kanpuri, op. cit., pp. 287-288. Sadri, op. cit., p. 446.

Moradabad.<sup>1</sup> The British government conferred a "Robe of Honour" in recognition of his service to the female education in 1864.<sup>2</sup>

Following the order of demolition of all the buildings from Red Fort to the Jama Masjid, after the conquest of Delhi by Nicholson in 1857, Zakaullah along with his family was compelled to wander about in the streets of Delhi till they took refuge in the tomb of the famous Sufi Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya.<sup>3</sup>

For unknown reasons Zakaullah accepted the post of Head Master of Delhi Normal School in 1869.<sup>4</sup> Later in 1872, he was offered the Professorship in the Muir Central College, Allahabad.<sup>5</sup> He served the institution in this capacity till his retirement in 1887.

After his retirement from his service, Zakaullah was appointed an Honorary Professor at D.A.O. College to coach the students in Mathematics for the competitive examination to be conducted by Roorkee Engineering College.

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1. Zakaullah, Ain-i-Uaisari, Delhi, 1904, p.6.

2. Tanha, op. cit., p. 208.

3. Andrews, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

4. Ain-i-Uaisari, p. 6.

5. The authorities are not confirmed whether Zakaullah was a professor of Persian, Arabic or of Mathematics. Tanha, op. cit., p. 205.  
Jalri, op. cit., p. 447.  
Imail Panipati - Sheikh Muhammad Maulvi Inayatullah Dehalvi in Shakhaiyat number, Nurgosh, Vol.I, Lahore, 1957, p. 143.

It was during this period that he was honoured with the titles of Shamsul Ulama and Khan Bahadur and was awarded a cash prize of Rs. 1500/- for his works on Mathematics.<sup>1</sup> He passed his last days in Delhi and died in the month of November, 1910.<sup>2</sup>

As a close associate of Sir Syed and his contemporaries, Zakaullah joined the Scientific Society as an active member in 1866.<sup>3</sup> It was with the establishment of the educational institution, the Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College<sup>4</sup> at Aligarh, that he became keenly interested in the Muslim education because he wanted to raise the standard of Muslim education.<sup>5</sup>

Zakaullah had been an active member of the College's committee of Khazinatul Bazzat (M.A.O.C.F.)<sup>6</sup> and later became the trustee of the college.<sup>7</sup> He also served as the Director

1. Tanha, op. cit., p. 209.

Qadri, op. cit., p. 449.

2. J.L. Jafri, Zainabi, loc. cit., pp. 133-134.

Tanha, op. cit., pp. 207, 210.

Qadri, op. cit., p. 447.

Caroin de Tassy, loc. cit., p. 5.

A.R. Kanpuri, loc. cit., pp. 285, 293.

3. Yusuf Husain, loc. cit., pp. 217-18.

4. The M.A.O. College, later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University, was one of the most important landmarks in the educational and social history of India. Its establishment in 1875 was the first significant response of the Indian Muslims to the challenges of the modern age and prepared them intellectually and to take a fresh stock of their medieval heritage.

5. Andrews, op. cit., pp. 126.

6. Yusuf Husain, op. cit., pp. 217-18.

7. Ibid., pp. 379-81.

of the Committee for instruction in various languages and "secular learning".<sup>1</sup> He was member of the managing Committee of the college too.<sup>2</sup> Moreover Zakaullah devoted himself to the college to the extent that he withdrew his copyright of all his publication in favour of the institution.<sup>3</sup>

As a writer Zakaullah has produced more than one hundred fifty books alongwith a number of papers published in various learned journals, for instance, Tahsibul Akhlaq, of Aligarh, Hasan of Hyderabad Deccan, Scientific Gazette, Aligarh, Adab of Meeruzabad, Maarif of Aligarh, Makhsan of Lahore, Zamana of Kanpur, Aligarh monthly of Aligarh etc. In his book Farhang-e-Farhang, he himself has claimed that since the 19th year of his age he had devoted himself to writing. It had been his practice to scribe two to four pages daily. Thus he wrote with an average of one thousand pages per year. The result was that he left 157 books to his credit, written till 1901, when he was 70, out of these books, 146 were published and the rest were in manuscript form. He had contributed hundreds of papers in the

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1. Ibid, p. 393.

2. Ibid, p. 397.

3. Ibid, p. 239.



various journals and a number of his papers remained unpublished.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the statement that Zakaullah produced only 143 books does not seem to be correct.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Asghar Abbas, loc. cit., p. 11.

2. The break-up of his works given by Siyar-ul-Musannifin is as follows:

S.No.	Subjects	No. of published books	Unpublished	Total
01.	Mathematics	81	6	87
02.	History & Geography	17	1	18
03.	Literature & Science	16	-	16
04.	Science & Ethics	06	-	06
05.	Physics & Biology	07	2	09
06.	Political Science	02	5	07
		129	14	143

See Tanha, op. cit., p. 207.

See also, Nadri, op. cit., p. 450.

## LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF ZAKAULLAH

As has been mentioned above, he was curious to translate others and produce his own works, since the 19th year of his age, he started his work and produced more than 150 books besides contributing a number of papers in various journals.<sup>1</sup>

To fulfil the demand of the age, Zakaullah produced the books in Urdu on Mathematics, literature, science, history etc. As pointed out earlier<sup>2</sup> Sir Syed and his colleagues including Zakaullah were in favour of Urdu language as the medium of instruction in the M.A.O. College. Therefore, a translation Society was constituted in Delhi. Zakaullah started his series of writings with the translation of the books on Mathematics. He produced books in all the fields of Mathematics, for instance, geometry, trigonometry, euclid, algebra, mensuration and arithmetic.

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1. Supra, pp. 17-18

2. Supra, pp. 10-11

Zakaulah translated a number of books on geometry but his famous translation of 'Plane Co-ordinate Geometry' is remarkable. For the furtherance of the objectives of Scientific Society Aligarh and Scientific Society Suba Bihar, he translated a treatise of Tod Hunter's<sup>1</sup>, 'Plane Co-ordinate Geometry'. It was translated when Zakaulah was the Headmaster in the Delhi Normal School.

It was published from Delhi in 1871. The author has written a short introduction explaining his aims and objects for the translation. In translating this book, he always kept in his mind the problems of the students, therefore, the book has been translated in a manner that the readers might understand it easily. Each problem has been made easy by giving a number of examples. The book also shows the consciousness of Zakaulah of the current development in this subject.<sup>2</sup> In another field of Mathematics, viz. Trigonometry, Zakaulah has translated a number of books, for instance, Manual of Plane Trigonometry, Spherical Trigonometry etc. He selected the books of the famous scholar of Trigonometry of his age. In translating

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1. Hunter was the famous Mathematician of England.

2. See the book Resal-e usool-e ilm-e Hinds-e bil isbr

these books Zakauallah always kept in his mind that not a single aspect of the book be left untouched and it should be useful for both the students and the teachers.<sup>1</sup>

The series of Galbraith and Houghton were extremely popular in those days, so he selected a few of them for translating into Urdu. He then translated Euclid of Samson in 1854. When the books of I. Todhunter replaced the previous one, Zakauallah also translated the books of I. Tod Hunter. It proves that Zakauallah always kept a vigilant eye on the advancement of English Course.<sup>2</sup> In the field of mensuration, dealing with the problems of length, Area and dimension, Zakauallah translated a book by I. Tod Hunter into Urdu, adding three more chapters on arithmetics, so that the students might easily understand the problems of mensuration. The book was primarily translated for the students who wanted to appear at the competitive examinations of Roorkee Engineering College.<sup>3</sup>

While translating a treatise on Algebra from the mathematical series of Galbraith and Houghton's Scientific manuals, Zakauallah in his Introduction has established that

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1. See I. Tod Hunter, *Risala Zba masallat karvi*, Delhi, 1876.

2. I. Tod Hunter - *Elements of Euclid*, Translated into Urdu by Zakauallah, Aligarh 1877, pp.1-2.

3. Zakauallah - *Ilm-Masaliat*, Delhi 1871, p.1.

its originated in India. In his opinion, series was useful and of High standard for the students of Indian schools and colleges also<sup>1</sup>. Besides, he has translated a number of other books of algebra, for instance An Elementary Treatise On the History of Equation, with a Collection of examples, by I. Tod Hunter.

Zakaullah has translated a book of arithmetic written by B. Smith. In this book, Zakaullah himself admits that there are some questions difficult even for the teachers. Such difficult questions of the text and appendix have been solved. Thus both the teachers and the students could find it easier.<sup>2</sup> Besides these translations Zakaullah has also written a few books of arithmetic for instance, Kitab-e-Hisab etc. In this book he has given the symbols of arithmetic and has given there some solved questions of plus, minus, multiplication and division along with some unsolved tables for the exercise of the students.

His own books on mathematics and several translations became so popular that they had already been published for

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1. Zakaullah, Risala-e-Ilm-i-Jabr-w-muqabala, Delhi, 1871, pp. 1-2.

2. Zakaullah, Hisab ki Kitab, Allahabad, 1897.

For example the book Hisab Ki Kitab was published for seven times as the author himself says in the preface of the edition. "The Elements of Euclid" translated by him into Urdu in 1854 was also published for several times.

six and seven times in his life time. Besides the books on mathematics he translated some books on physics, for example Sahifa-i-Fitrat in very simple Urdu. Besides the books on Science, Zakauallah produced vast literature on ethics, History and Geography and so on.

Writing on ethics, Zakauallah has made a point that a number of scholars have written a number of books on this subject and have left no stone unturned, yet the author states that he has selected a few aspects of ethics, which still demand some clarification. In his book Mahasinul-Akhlag, the author has selected the following points:

For instance, Praise of God, existence of God, God is every where, Aloofness of people from the God, The knowledge of hidden things, habits and customs, and so on.

Zakauallah has also produced a number of books on literature for the School curriculum. He has written a book of grammar of Urdu entitled as Taqvīn-ul-lisan - Besides, at the instance of director of education, he wrote the Urdu course books from I to V standards. He claims to have written five books for Urdu Course. In the first book he deals only with the grammar the other four books have been written with an object of stimulating an interest amongst the students for the modern education.

It appears that keeping in view the objectives of Sir Syed's mission, Zakaullah compiled a book "Maghab aur science ki rasm-o-basm".<sup>1</sup> The objective of Sir Syed, as referred above was to impart the modern Scientific education to the Muslims, which they hated most, for, they considered it as an aim of the British to convert their children into Christianity. Zakaullah in this book has tried to establish that Religion and Science are co-related and supplement to each other.

The Rashhatul-Juran, another treatise of Zakaullah, is a Selection of Quranic Ayat, translated by Shah Abdul Qadir (1753 A.D. - 1814 A.D.) with his own comments, which in his own opinion are useful to the readers.<sup>2</sup>

The aim of this book as described by the writer himself was to bring a brief book before the Muslims to have the knowledge at least of that portion of Quran which is useful in daily life.<sup>3</sup>

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1. It included chapters by Mohsinul ulk and Herbert Spencer also.
  2. Zakaullah, Rashhatul-Juran, Delhi, 1938 pp. 78.
  3. Ibid, p.1.

**CHAPTER IV**  
**THE HISTORICAL WORKS OF ZAKAULLAH**

**PART A**  
**INDO-PERSIAN TRADITIONS OF HISTORIOGRAPHY**

Before the critical evaluation of Zakaullah's historical work it seems necessary to study a historian in the frame work of following points.

- a) The social and political background of the author.
- b) Motive for the writing.
- c) The source of information.
- d) Style of writing.
- e) Objectivity and Subjectivity of the historian.

Thus E.H. Carr has correctly remarked, "study the historian before you begin to study of facts".<sup>1</sup> So far as the socio political background of the author is concerned Zakaullah (1832-1910) was born in a family which provided confident teachers to the Moghuls. The period in which the author was born is marked with the gloomy instances of socio-political upheaval, religious chaos, and educational deprivation. In this condition the Muslims raised weapons against British and its failure inspired to the leaders like Sir Syed and others, to follow a policy of reconciliation<sup>2</sup>, with the British.

1. E.H. Carr, what is history, London, 1962, p.17.

2. Supra, Chs. I & II.



Zakaullah realising the situation joined the Sir Syed's mission and produced a huge work in Urdu including History for the furtherance of Muslim education.<sup>1</sup>

The author in writing history have utilized all the sources<sup>2</sup> available to him, the detail of which will be dealt later on.

His style of writing and subjectivity and objectivity will carefully be studied when a critical evaluation of his historical work will be dealt.

Before the critical study of historical works of Zakaullah it is necessary to have a bird's eye view of the tradition of historiography inherited by our author.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

Among Muslims there had been two traditions of history writing:

- a) The Arabic      b) The Persian

- a) "The Arab tradition, rooted as it was in the Arab character, cherished democratic ideals and treated history as a biography of nations".<sup>3</sup>

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1. Supra pp.

2. Infra pp.

3. K.M. Nizami, On History And Historians of Medieval India, New Delhi, 1983, p.6.

- b) "The Persian tradition drawing its inspiration from the monarchical background of its institutions, looked upon history as a biography of kings".<sup>1</sup>

For the Arabic tradition of history writing, the classical historical works of Tabari, Ibn Athir, etc. are the best examples which include all the aspects of history, for instance, social , religious, economic, military expeditions etc. The Arabic historians seldom dedicated their works to the rulers of the time while the Persian historians, generally recorded the life and achievements of the Royal family excluding the other sections of the society and the historians generally dedicated their works to the rulers of the time to enhance the greatness of their writings<sup>2</sup> and for some economic gains too.

The early Sultans of India were Turks by race and Persian by culture. Therefore, the historians of their age, it appears, followed the history writing of Indo-Persian tradition. To substantiate the arguments, it would suffice to say that Hasan Nizami, Fakhr-e-Mudabbir and Minhaj-e-Siraj were the writers of political histories.

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1. Ibid. p-6

2. Ibid.

They hardly make any reference to the sufis, scholars, poet etc. Significantly enough "with Barni a significant break-through takes place. He occasionally refers to Sufis, Scholars and others celebrities; even dancing girls and cup-bearers find a place in his narrative. His anxiety to recreate the atmosphere of bygone days and provide a glimpse into the court life of that age compels him to prepare a picture gallery in which he cannot avoid admitting men and women like Nusrat Bibi, Mihr Afroz, Firoz the barber, Manka the cook, Radha the gardner and Babu Naik the weaver".<sup>1</sup>

The Afghans included legends also in their works Jawami'ul-Hikayat of Auli, Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi of Risqullah Mushtaqi and Afssana-i-Shaban of Sheikh Kabir are the best examples of this tradition.<sup>2</sup>

Abbas Khan Sarwani and Abul Fazal are the admirers of the Mughals. While describing Sher Shah's conflict with Humayun, 'Abbas attributes the latter's defeat at Chausa<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibid., pp. 7-8.

2. "It is a curious mixture of facts, fiction, history and traditions. At times it shows astounding blunders and ignorance of chronology and history. It must however be remembered that almost all the histories of the Afghan have been written on hearsay and are based on traditions."

R.P. Tripathi - Some aspects of Muslim administration, Allahabad, 1978, p.362.

3. K.A. Nizami. *opcit*, p.10

to the arrival of angels who turned away the horses of the Maghal soldiers.<sup>2</sup>

Abul Fazal in the admiration of Akbar, "Showers e comiums on him and invests him with prophetic attributes and ascribes miraculous powers to him, is hardly a compliment to Abul Fazal's scholarship.<sup>1</sup>

Badaoni has an extensive view of history and his work seems to be complete to reconstruct the history of the court, Khanqah, Madarsa and the intellectual activities alongwith their critical assessment. In the development of religious activities of Akbar, and his minions. Thus Badayuni's Muntakhibut Twarikh is partly apologia pro vita sua and partly a chargesheet against Akbar's religious view <sup>2</sup>

Thus from Hasan Nizami to Zakaullah, large number of political chronicles are available on medieval India. Most of them were written for, or dedicated to the reigning monarchs, some were presented to nobles and few were undertaken to satisfy one's own historical curiosity.

The historical works in Persian and Urdu of 18th and 19th centuries were generally written for the English

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1. Ibid. p.11.

2. Ibid.,p.12.

Officers.<sup>1</sup> Before the establishment of the Fort William College, Urdu could produce only a few Prose writing like, Mirajul - Ashiqin of Syed Muhammad, Gesudaras al Husaini<sup>2</sup> it was the efforts of Fort William College of Calcutta, Meer Sher Ali Afsoos, borrowing the material of socio-economic, geo-political and historical nature from Khulasatut-Twarikh of Sujan Rai Bhandari<sup>3</sup>, wrote his Araish-i-Mahfil. Till its publication it has established its priority over all other Urdu writings. Thus it seems that Urdu as a language of prose writing was still in its cradle. Zakauallah being the first writer of a continuous history of India in Urdu would necessarily reflect the other developed traditions of history writing.

The fact is that our author was well aware of European style of history writing as is proved by his own prolegomenon to his book Tarikh-e-Hindustan (Sultanat-e-Ahde-Islamiya Ka Bevan). In this prolegomenon he has incorporated the ideas of European scholars like Carlyle, Froude, Bacon etc. A critical study of his prolegomenon would follow soon. Moreover the historical writings of Elphinstone, "History of India". Elliot and Dowson "History of India" as told by its own historians" may be considered

1. Ghulam Ali Bhikari Khan's Shah Alam Namah was probably written at the instigation of some English officer and Franklin used it in preparing his history of the reign of Shah Alam.
2. Aziz Ahmad, An intellectual history of Islam in India Edinburg, 1969, p.92.
3. A.B.M. Habibullah - Historical writings in Urdu - A survey of tendencies in C.H. Phillip. (Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon), London, 1961, p.482.

as the models of the European style of history writing before Zakaullah Khan.

In his introduction to his Tarikh-e-Hindustan (Sultanat Islamia Ka Beyan), Zakaullah has discussed various concepts of history, aims and objects of a historian and method of history writing.

Let us examine the following aspects:

- (a) What was Zakaullah's idea of history ?
- (b) How far was history a re-enactment of past experience for him ?
- (c) What advantages, if any, did he seek to derive from his historical writings ?

#### ZAKAULLAH'S CONCEPT OF HISTORY WRITING

Zakaullah has traced the origin and meaning of history. He has quoted various definitions from works like 'Madaul-Damoo', 'Lissanul-Arab' 'Tafuluroos Sharah Damoo' and 'Mafatihul-uloom Khwarizmi' and has reached the conclusion that Tarikh is an Arabic word which means linking of the past with the present. In other words Tarikh (History) is the subject in which the events of the past are recorded in a chronological order<sup>1</sup>. And Tarikh's English version history is not a correct translation even then it is a

1. Zakaullah, Tarikh-e-Hindustan (And-e-Sultanat-e-Islamia ka beyan), Aligarh 1915, Vol. 1, pp. 1-2.

nearer to that. History really means the 'narration of the events'.<sup>1</sup>

From the ancient period, the scholars have tried their best to define history as a comprehensive subject for the succeeding generations. Herodotus, a Greek scholar of 484 B.C., known as the Father of History, defines it in the following words:

"The emergence of the large organisation in society creates internal relationship of cultural, religious, ethical, commercial, political and educational values between man and man and to take all these aspects of man's life into an account is called History".<sup>2</sup>

Modern scholars unanimously hold that history should not only deal with political figures (as has been the practice of medieval historians), but it should record all the aspects of man's life for instance, educational, social, ethical, religious and so on. In India it seems that Bani was the first Historian who has given his own definition of history. According to him, history is only the subject which should records the achievements of the rulers and the noble-men of the society. He says:

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1. Ibid., p.30.

2. Ibid., p.30.

"History is the subject which imparts the knowledge of the achievements of prophets, caliphs, sultans and religious scholars.<sup>1</sup> Thus no other science except the (Ilm-e-Tafsir), Tradition (Hadith), Jurisprudence (Fiqh) and Tareeqat is more useful than history".

According to Ibn-e-Khaldoon, (1332-1409) history is useless unless the cause and effect of a particular event are analysed.

Voltaire, probably the first European scholar of history describes the scope of history in these words:

"History should not revolve round the crown but it should also record the social life of people".<sup>2</sup>

Pickens a great scholar of 19th century says:

"History is a record of the changes in the conditions of man effected by the nature and the possession of the nature by the man which is against the nature is not acceptable to him".<sup>3</sup>

Carlyle has given a very simple definition of history and says that 'without application of reason the subject is reduced to nothingness. In his opinion -

"History separates the truth from false".<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibid., p.6.

2. Ibid., p.35.

3. Ibid., p.31.

4. Ibid., p.31.



Jaffery is a sharp critic of history. He says -

"History is imperfect because it generally deals with one aspect of human life. It does not record the life of the people living peacefully".<sup>1</sup>

The scholars like Haikal have divided the subject into different forms. In his opinion there are following forms of history:

- a) Pure history, which means to record all the seen or heard events as such.
- b) Selection of the facts on the basis of reason - History *ans* select the facts and then apply their reason to separate the truth from false.
- c) History a Science - The search of cause and effect makes history a science.<sup>2</sup>

Some other scholars of Europe like Lord Bacon have established the superiority of history over the other subjects like poetry.

Bacon says -

"Man has three powers of wisdom -

- a) Memory
- b) Imagination
- c) Understanding

Memory is superior to the others. History being a science based on memory, thus has superiority over poetry and philosophy".<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibid, p. 32-34.

2. Ibid., p. 31.

3. Ibid., p.30.

The scholars of history have described a number of merits of history and have tried their best to establish its utility for the coming generations. As it is clear that history records the past events in a chronological order with critical approach, then, observes Zakaullah, that;

- (a) - History increases the intelligence of man and guides him to the right path.<sup>1</sup>
- (b) - It provides the solution of the problems through the experience.<sup>2</sup>

Aristotle and Buzur Jaimihar said that knowledge of the history is better for a man because it records the solution of the problems faced by the predecessors, including the ruling class and the subjects.<sup>3</sup>

Zakaullah, quoting general European view that impartial and Scientific approach and investigation of past events is extremely difficult, and then argues that it is possible with the following conditions.

1. When a historian writes about the generosity, greatness and justice of a ruler, he must also write about his injustice, tyranny etc. If he can not express himself clearly he should make indication in between the lines, and should avoid flattering.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibid., pp. 7,3,9,11,40  
Barni, Bacon, Skelton, Grey, Filder and Palley are the scholars who emphasize of the rectification of man's life by the study of history.

2. Ibid., pp. 7.

3. Ibid., pp. 6,7,11,12.

4. Ibid., pp. 9, 32.

2. The historian should be straight forward in describing the facts in simple language so that everybody might understand it.<sup>1</sup>
3. He should be so reliable and trustworthy that if he records any event without referring any source, his honesty must not be doubted.<sup>2</sup>
4. A historian should carefully examine his sources of information. He should apply the reason in search of cause and effect of an event and should also separate the truth from false.<sup>3</sup>
5. A historian should always record the events in a way that it may preserve a vivid picture of the past for the coming generations. Moreover he also should not ignore the doings of the great people.
6. The historian should deal with all the aspects of the life of the people.
7. He should always select the facts which are useful for the nation and should ignore the irrelevant events.
8. The historian should not only be a philosopher and a belatrist but also be an exposé of future.
9. He should have a clear picture of the nation and a map of the land, the history of which he is going to write.

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1. The condition is not obligatory on a historian but is obligatory on all the writers of the each subjects.

2. Ibid., pp. 8, 9.

3. Ibid., pp. 19, 31.

10. The historian should also be well aware of the biological and psychological principles and natural laws otherwise he cannot give a good description of man's life and culture of the society.
11. The historian should also not ignore the political events and administrative set up.

#### EXISTENCE OF HISTORY WRITING

As far as the existence of history in written form is concerned, it was literature specially poetry which came into being first. When men learn something he conveyed it to another through the poetry. Thus everywhere in the world, it was poetry which emerged first and then history. In India Ramayan and Mahabharat were historical work. In Greece the poet Homer became famous before Herodotus. In England came Shakespeare before any historian.

The history writing first began in China and Japan and later in the other countries too. Zakauilah says, "since I am writing the history of my own community, therefore keeping aside all the nations I begin to write the historical consciousness of the Arabs."<sup>1</sup>

There was no historical work before the Prophet. History after hundred years of prophets' death came into being with the recording of his life, sayings, actions

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1. Ibid., p.3.

and the wars of his companions and their followers. These Arab historians introduced a tradition of Usoole-Aznead (chain of narrators) to make an event authentic. The mentioning of the long chain of narrator for the events again and again created a problem of repetition in the text. Therefore, later on an Arab historian removed the repetition of chain of narrators and the duplication of the event from the text.

It was Ibne-Ishaq who compiled the first biography of the prophet which was later reproduced by Ibn Husham with his additional account. After these scholars there emerged a number of historians amongst the Muslims, for instance, Abul-Ghaza, Ibn-Athir, Waqidi, Tabari, Masudi, Jataiba and Ibn-e-khaldun etc. Thus Muslim historiography passed through various stages and in course of development assimilated Persian Traditions of historiography also.

The Muslims established their rule in India with fully developed norms of historiography. After the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi, the Muslim scholars began to write regional and general histories of India. But the European scholars have bitterly criticised the historical works produced in Asia and particularly histories written by the Indian historians of Medieval India. Most of them allege that these historical works are not authentic and reliable records as they are full of exaggeration.

But Zakauallah asserts that European criticism that the Asian historians exaggerate their statements is because of their ignorance of Eastern languages. Contrary to it the Europeans interpret the events wrongly. The exaggeration is better than the misinterpretation. Mill, correctly remarks that in place of the exaggeration of the Asian historian, the European after a vast study only propound the hypothesis. After this general criticism Zakauallah now turns his attention towards the criticism of Henry Elliot. Zakauallah has quoted extensively from Elliot's History of India as told by its own historians.<sup>1</sup>

"It must be understood, then, that this index has not been constructed on account of any intrinsic value in the histories themselves. Indeed, it is ~~as~~ almost a misnomer to style their histories. They can scarcely claim to rank higher than Annals"..... They compromise, for the most part nothing but a mere dry narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence, never grouped philosophically according to their relations.

Without speculation on causes or effects; without a reflection or suggestion which is not of the most puerile and contemptible kind; and without any observations calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders, and fratricides, so common in Asiatic monarchies, and to which India

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1. Ibid., p.40

unhappily forms no exception. If we are somewhat relieved from the contemplation of such scenes when we come to the accounts of the earlier Moghal emperors, we have that is little more inviting in the records of the stately magnificence and ceremonies observances of the court, and the titles, jewels, swords, drums, standards, elephants and horses bestowed upon the dignitaries of the Empire."<sup>1</sup>

If the artificial definition of Dionysius be correct, that "History is philosophy teaching by examples", then there is no native Indian historian, and few have even approached to so high a standard. Of examples, and very bad ones, we have ample store, though even in them the radical truth is obscured by the hereditary, official and sectarian prepossessions of the narrator; but of philosophy, which deduces conclusions calculated to benefit us by the lessons and experience of the past, which adverts on the springs and consequences of political transactions, and offers sage counsel for the future, we search invain for any sign or symptom of domestic history also we have in our Indian annalists absolutely nothing and the same may be remarked of nearly all Muhammadan historians, except Iban Khaldoon. By them society is never contemplated either in its conventional usages or recognised privileged;

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1. Zakaullah, Tarikhe Hindustan, Saltanat-Islamia ka beyan Vol. I, pp. 40-41.

Sir H. M. Elliot, the History of India as told by its own historians, Volume I, Allahabad, pp. XVIII-XIX.

its constituent elements or mutual relations; in its established classes or popular institutions; in its private recesses or habitual intercourses. In notices of commerce, agriculture, internal police, and local judicature, they are equally deficient. A fact, an anecdote, a speech, a remark, which would illustrate the condition of the common people, or of any rank subordinate to the highest, is considered too insignificant to be suffered to intrude upon a relation which concerns only grantees and ministers. "thrones and imperial powers".<sup>1</sup>

Hence it is that these works may be said to be deficient in some of the most essential requisites of History, for "its great object", says Dr Arnald, "is that which most nearly touches the inner life of civilised man, namely the vicissitudes of institutions, social, political and religious. This is the TELELOTOLOV TEXOS<sup>2</sup> of historical enquiry". In Indian histories there is little which enables us to penetrate below the glittering surface, and observe the practical operation of despotic government and rigorous and sanguinary laws and the effect upon the great body of the nation of these injurious influences and agencies".<sup>3</sup>

1. Tarikh-Hindustan, Ibid, p.41.

(eng-~~tr~~) The History of India as told by its own historians p. XIX - XX.

2. Pronunciation Teleitaton Telos ~~meaning~~

3. Tarikh-i-Hindustan, Ibid, p.41.

(~~eng-~~tr~~~~) The History of India as told by its own historians p. XX.



"If, however, we turn our eyes to the present Muhammadan kingdoms of India, and examine the character of the princes, and the condition of the people subject to their sway, we may fairly draw a parallel between ancient and modern times, under circumstances and relations nearly similar. We behold kings, even of our own creation, sunk in sloth and debauchery and emulating the vices of a caligula or a commodus. Under such rulers, we cannot wonder that the fountains of justice are corrupted; that the state revenues are never collected without violence and outrages; that villages are burnt, and their inhabitants mutilated or sold into slavery; that the officials, so far from affording protection are themselves the chief robbers and usurpers; that parasites and eunuchs revel in the spoil of plundered provinces; and that the poor find no redress against the oppressor's wrong and proud man's contumely. When we witness these scenes under our own eyes, where the supremacy of the British government, the benefit of its example, and the dread of its interference, might be expected to operate as a check upon the progress of misrule, can we be surprised that former princes, when free from such restraints, should have studied even less to preserve the people committed to their charge, in wealth, peace and prosperity? Had the authors whom we are compelled

to consult, portrayed their ceasars with the fidelity of suetoni<sup>us</sup>, instead of the more congenial sycophancy of pacterculus, we should not, as now, have to extort from unwilling witnesses, testimony to the truth of these assertions. From them, nevertheless, we can gather, that the common people must have been plunged into the lowest depths of wretchedness and despondency. The few glimpses we have, even among the short extracts in this single volume, of Hindus slain for disputing with mohammadans, of general prohibitions against processions, worship and ablutions, and of other intolerant measures of idols mutilated of temples razed of forcible conversions and marriages, of proscriptions and confiscations, of murders and massacres and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoined them, show us that this picture is not overcharged and it is much to be regretted that we are left to draw it for ourselves from out of the mass of ordinary occurrences, recorded by writers who seem to sympathise with no virtues, and to abhor no vices, other nations exhibit the same atrocities, but they are at least spoken of, by some, with indignation and disgust. whenever, therefore, in the course of this index a work is characterised as excellent, admirable or valuable, it must be remembered that these terms are used relatively to

the narrative only; and it is but reasonable to expect that the force of these epithets will be qualified by constant advertence to the deficiencies just commented on".<sup>1</sup>

"These deficiencies are more to be lamented, where, as sometimes happens, a Hindu is the author. From one of that nation we might have expected to have learnt what were the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears and yearnings, of his subject race; but, unfortunately, he rarely writes unless according to order or dictation and every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious muhammadian patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his notion, except, perhaps, a certain stiffness and affection of style, which show how ill the foreign garb befits him. With him, a Hindu is "an infidel" and a muhammadian "one of the true faith", and of the holy saints of the calender, he writes with all the fervour of a bigot with him, when Hindus are killed, "their souls are despatched to hell" and when a muhammadian suffers the same fate "he drinks the cup of martyrdom". He is so far wedded to the set phrases and inflated language of his conquerors, that he speaks of "the light of Islam shedding its refulgence on the world", of "the blessed Muharram" and of "the illustrious book". He usually

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1. Tarikh-e-Hindustan, Ibid., pp. 41-43.

(~~Eng. Hist.~~) History of India as told by its own  
Historians pp. ... - XXI.

opens with a "Bismillah" and the ordinary profession of faith in the unity of the God head, followed by loudations of the holy Prophet, his disciples and descendants and indulges in all the most devout and orthodox attestations of muhammadans. One of the Hindu authors here notices, speaks of standing in his old age, at the head of his bier and the brink of his grave", though he must have been fully aware that, beforelong, his remains would be burnt, and his ashes cast into the Ganges. Even at a later period, when no longer "Tiberii ac Neronis res ob metum falsae", there is not one of this slavish crew who treats the history of his native country subjectively or presents us with the thoughts, emotions and raptures which a long oppressed race might be supposed to give vent to, when freed from the tyranny of its former masters, and allowed to express itself in the natural language of the heart, without constraint and without adulation".<sup>1</sup>

"But, though the intrinsic value of these works may be small, they will still yield much that is worth observation to any one who will attentively examine them. They will serve to dispel the mists of ignorance by which the knowledge of India is too much obscured and show that the history of mohammedan period remains yet to be written.

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1. Tarikh-E-Hindustan, Ibid, p.43.

(~~Eng. text~~) The History of India as told by its own historians pp. XX -XXII.

They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantageous accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule. If instructions were sought for from them, we should be spared the rash declarations respecting Muhammadan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant. Characters now renowned only for the splendour of their achievements, and a succession of victories, would, when we withdrew the veil of flattery and divest them of rhetorical flourishes, be set forth in a truer light and probably be held up to the execration of mankind. We should no longer hear bombastic babus, enjoying under our government the highest degree of personal liberty and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism and the degradation of their present position. If they would dive into any of the volumes mentioned herein, it would take these young brutuses and phocious a very short time to learn, that in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been attended, not with silence and contempt, but with the severer discipline of matter lead or empalement".<sup>1</sup>

About the history and Historians of Asiatic kingdoms in general and in medieval India in particular Elliot thus opines that to call the writings of this period

1. Tarikh-E-Hindustan (VI) Ibid pp. 43-44  
~~(Eng. Ed.)~~ The History of India as told by its own  
 Historians pp. XX222-XX222.

as historical works is totally wrong. These works record only the incidents without any search of cause and effect. The historians have no doubt kept the events in a chronological order, but have not maintained a logical link amongst the events. Their selection of fact is not upto mark.

The history of all the Asiatic kingdoms is full of conspiracies, revolts, chaos, fratricide and India was also not an exception. Such unhealthy statements are replaced for a while by the pomp and glory, honourific titles awarded to the nobles and rope of honour given to them during the mughal reign.

Elliot a bitter critic of these historical works could not reduce their value. He himself admits the fact that these works are valuable for those who would examine them with critical eye.

Zakauilah too could not convince himself with the above quotation and quotes a passage from 'India under the Muslim rule' of J. Talboys Wheeler:-

"The historians of the Musalman period, properly so called, generally told the truth. Occasionally they may have praised bad princes because they were good musalmans; otherwise they were honest and trust worthy. They were kept up to the mark by the influence of the Ulama. The Ulama comprised the collective body of doctors, lawyers, magistrates, and judges resident at the capital. It combined the authority of law with that of religion. It was the one independent voice in circle of Asiatic despotism.

Had the historians of the Mussulman period sacrificed truth to flattery, they would have exposed themselves to the scorn of the Ulama".<sup>1</sup>

Under the Moghal rule the conditions changed and the public opinion ceased to have the voice. History began to be degenerated into flattery and flasehood. In the opinion of Zakaullah, the minions like Abul Fazi and Khafi Khan were exposed on the screen of the court life.

In his opinion every object may be seen by two angles viz. critical and favourable one. The former angle is better for knowledge but its application is very difficult. If the scholar is just then he can well apply the principles of criticism to separate the truth from false but presumption, religious communalism [ تعصب مذہبی ], enmosity [ رقابت ], self-conceit [ خود پسندی ], and self exposition are some of the causes which refrain a scholar to becoming objective. These are the European scholars who have incorporated the rare trifles to the knowledge but these historians are communal [ تنصب ], good natured [ نیک ہنہاد ], pious hearted [ پاک دل ], superficial observer [ ظاہر شناس ], an observer of minute details [ دقیق النظر ], correct determination [ نیک نیت ] and well intentioned [ نیک نیت ]

). But some common factors led them to consider the Muslim administration as component of<sup>2</sup> غیر اتفاقی اور شہرہ دہی و معمولی و استمراری

1. Tarikh-E-Hindustan, Ibid, p.44.  
(Eng. Ed.) J. Talboys Wheeler, India Under the Muslim Rule, Part I, Delhi, 1975, p.4.
2. Zakaullah, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

In Zakauallah's opinion Henry Lawrence has correctly remarked that "If an English being an angel writes the history of India, either of Hindu or of a Muslim rule, would not desist from emphasizing their defects".<sup>1</sup>

In Zakauallah's opinion the European has written the history based on the European travelogues who were not well aware of the Indian political system and culture of this country. These travellers are for instance, William Hawkins (1608-1611), Sir Thomas Roe (1616-1618), Sir Thomas Herbert (1627-1628), John Albert de Mandello (1638-1640), Sir Francis Bernier (1656-1668), John Baptist, Monsieur de Thevenet and Manucci (1649-1697)<sup>2</sup>

Either the travellers or the European scholars have moulded the history of India in accordance with their own aims and goals, they have depicted the one side of the picture on the basis of pre-conceived notions. Thus the European scholars have aimed at to extol the merits of their own country by emphasizing the demerits or defects of Muslim India.<sup>3</sup> To substantiate his own statement Zakauallah again quotes a few passages from Elliot :

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1. Ibid., p. 40.

2. Ibid., p. 45-46.

3. Tarikh-e-Hindustan, Salawat Islamia ka Bayan, Volume I, pp. 46-47.



"Should any ambitious functionary entertain the desire of emulating the 'exceedingly magnificent' structures of his Mughal predecessors, it will check his aspirations to learn that beyond palaces and porticos, temples and tombs, there is little worthy of emulation. He will find that, if we omit only three names in the long line of the Delhi emperors, the comfort and happiness of the people were never contemplated by them; and with the exception of a few sarais and bridges, and these only on roads traversed by the imperial camps - he will see nothing in which purely selfish considerations did not prevail. The extreme beauty and elegance of many of their structures it is not attempted to deny, but personal vanity was the main cause of their creation and with the small exception noted above, there is not one which subserves any purpose of general utility. His romantic sentiments may have been excited by the glowing imagery of Lalla Rookh, and we may have indulged himself with visions of Jahangir's broad highway from one distant capital to the other, shaded throughout the whole length by stately avenues of trees, and accommodated at short distance with sarais and tanks; but the scale of that emperor's munificence will probably be reduced in his eyes, when he sees it written, that the same work had already been in great measure accomplished by Sher Shah, and that the same merit is also ascribed to a still earlier predecessor; nor will it be an unreasonable reflection, when he finds, except a ruined milestone here and there - no vestige extant

of this magnificent highway and this "delectable alley of trees" that, after all, that can have been no very stupendous work, which the resources of three successive emperors have failed to render a more enduring monument. When he reads of the canals of Firoz Shah and Ali Mardan Khan intersecting the country, he will find on further examination, that even if the former was ever open, it was used only for the palace and hunting park of that monarchs but when he ascertains that no mention is made of it by any of the historians of Timur, who are very minute in their topographical details, and that Babar exclaims in his memories, that in some of the Hindustani provinces are there any canals (and both these conquerors must have passed over these canals, had they been flowing in their time), he may, perhaps, be disposed to doubt if anything was proceeded with beyond the mere excavation. With respect to Ali Mardan Khan, his merits will be less extolled, when it is learnt that his canals were made, not with any view to benefit the public, but for an ostentatious display of his profession, in order that the hoards of his ill gotten wealth might not be appropriated by the monarch to whom he betrayed his trust. When he reads that in some of the reigns of these kings, security of person and property was so great that any traveller might go where he listed and that a bag of gold might be exposed on the highways, and no one dare touch it, he will learn

to exercise a wise scepticism, on ascertaining that in one of the most vigorous reigns, in which internal tranquillity was more than ever secured, a caravan was obliged to remain six weeks at Multa, before the parties who accompanied it thought themselves strong enough to proceed to Delhi, that the walls of Agra were too weak to save the city from frequent attacks of marauders; that Kanauj was a favourite beat for tiger shooting and wild elephants plentiful karras and kaloi; that the depopulation of towns and cities, which many declamatory writers have ascribed to our measures of policy, had already commenced before we entered on possession; and that we found, to use the words of the Prophet, "the country desolate the cities burnt, when the sons of strangers came to build up the walls, and their kings to minister".<sup>1</sup>

"If we pay attention to more general considerations, and wish to compare the relative merits of European and Asiatic monarchies, we shall find that a perusal of these books will convey many a useful lesson, calculated to foster in us a love and admiration of our country and its venerable institutions".

"When we see the withering effect of the tyranny and capriciousness of a despot, we shall learn to estimate

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1. Tarikh-Hindustan- Ibid pp. 47-49.  
~~(Eng. Hist.)~~ The History of India as told by its own historians, pp. XXIII-XX

more fully the value of a balanced constitution. When we see the miseries which are entailed on present and future generations by disputed claims to the crown, we shall more than ever value the principle of a regulated succession, subject to no challenge or controversy. In no country have these miseries been greater than in India. In no country has the recurrence been more frequent and the claimants more numerous. From the death of Akbar to the British conquest of Delhi - a period of two hundred years - there has been only one disputed succession to the throne of the Mughal empire and even that exceptional instance arose from its not being worth a contest; at that calamitous time, when the memory of the ravages committed by Nadir Shah was fresh in the minds of men and the active hostility of the Abdali seemed to threaten a new visitation. Even now, as experience has shown, we should not be without claimants to the pagent throne, were it not disposed of at the sovereign will and pleasure of the British government, expressed before the question can give rise to dispute, or encourage those hopes and expectations, which on which occasion sacrificed the lives of so many members of the Royal family at the shrine of a vain and reckless ambition".<sup>1</sup>

"It is this want of a fixed rule of succession to the throne, which has contributed to maintain the kingdom in a constant ferment and retard the progress of improvement. It was not that the reigning monarch's, though the will of

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1. Tarikh-Hindustan, Ibid, 49.  
(~~Page 49~~) The History of India as told by its own historians, pp. xxv-xxvi.

aliving autocrat carries with it the force of law, the injunctions of a dead one avail little against the 'lang claymore' or the 'persuasive gloss' of a gallant or an intriguing competitor. The very law of primogeniture, which seems to carry with it the strongest sanctions in only more calculated to excite and foment these disturbances, where regal descent is not avowedly based on that rule, and especially in a country where polygamy prevails; for the eldest prince is he who has been longest absent from the court, whose sympathies have been earliest withdrawn from the influence of his own home, whose position in charge of an independent government inspires most alarm and mistrust in the reigning monarch, and whose interests are the first to be sacrificed, to please some young and favourite queen, ambitious of seeing the crown on the head of her own child. In such a state of society, the princess themselves are naturally brought up, always as rivals, sometimes as adventures and robbers; the chiefs espouse the cause of one or the other pretendor, not for the maintenance of any principle or right, but with the prospect of early advantage or to gratify a personal predilection, and probably end in themselves aspiring to be usurpers on their own account; the people, thoroughly indifferent to the success of either candidate, await with anxiety the issue, which shall enable them to pursue for a short time the path of industry and peace till it shall again be interrupted by new contests; in short,

all classes, interests and institutions are more or less affected by the general want of stability, which is the necessary result of such unceasing turmoil and agitation".<sup>1</sup>

"These considerations, and many more which will offer themselves to any diligent and careful peruser of the volumes here noticed, will serve to dissipate the gorgeous illusions are commonly entertained regarding the dynasties which have passed, and show him that, notwithstanding a civil policy and an ungenial climate, which forbid our making this country a permanent home and deriving personal gratification or profit from its advancement, notwithstanding the many defects necessarily inherent in a system of foreign administration, in which language, colour, religion, customs and laws preclude all natural sympathy between sovereign and subject, we have already, within the half century of our dominion, done more for the substantial benefit of the people, than our predecessors, in the country of their own adoption, were able to accomplish in more the ten times that period, and drawing auguries from the past, he will derive hope for the future, that, inspired by the success which has hitherto attended our endeavours, we shall follow them up by continuous efforts to fulfil our high destiny as the

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1. Tarikh-Hindustan, Ibid., pp. 49-50.  
(Eng. Tr.) The History of India as told by its own historians, p. xxvi.

rulers of India".<sup>1</sup>

In the support of his statement Zakaullah has translated a few passages from Elliot's introduction to his book referred above. As is the practice of the Europeans to see every subject with critical eye, they have seen the works of Public Welfare of Indian Muslim ruler in the same way. According to Elliot if the three names of the Moghal rulers are struck off the history; then, there is no ruler who had a little emotion of public welfare. What-so-ever they did, it was in their own welfare. For instance the canalisation of Firoz Shah and Ali Mardan was not for the general irrigation but float through their own forts and palaces. The construction of roads and sarais by Shershah and other rulers were useful only for the army and government official. The erection of forts and palaces symbolised only pomp, grandeur and glory of the rulers only.

The modern scholars like Zakaullah, Hodi Vala, Prof. Mohd. Habib and Prof. K.A. Nizami have critically examined the views of Elliot. Keeping in view, 'if the tyranny and capriciousness of the despotic rulers of medieval India was discussed in that way it would make the Indians

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1. Tarikh-e-Hindustan, Ibid, p. 50.

(Eng. Tr.) The History of India as told by its own historians, pp xxvi-xxvii.

shudder at their past and hail the British regime as a blessing,<sup>1</sup> Elliot has blurred our past and glorified the British regime. He has selected only the political works of medieval India or has translated the excerpts from the books pertaining to intrigues, war, deception, war, fire and famine. Elliot has taken into account the works like Al-Bairunes Kitabul Hind, Tabqat-e-Nasiri of Minhaj Siraj, Taaful Maasir of Hasan Nizami etc. The author was left all the paraphrases relating to social and religious customs of India, caste system prevailing over there in Al-Bairunes' - Kitabul Hind and the other books like Tarikh-i-Yamini, Tarikh-e-al-Subaktagin and others too suffer the same set back.<sup>2</sup>

The intrinsic value of the medieval Indian works for Elliot was only to highlight the institutions, culture and the government of his own country, as referred above.

Zakaulah, thus criticising Elliot and other European scholars correctly remarks that, it is the blunder on the part of the modern scholars that they try to study the ancient historical works on the basis of the present propounded principles of history writing. They completely

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1. K.A. Nizami, Supplement to Elliot & Dowson's History of India, Delhi, 1961, p.1.

2. Ibid., p.3.



ignore the Medieval trends of history writing and try to view the Medieval period and histories from modern outlook.<sup>1</sup> No doubt these works are not without exaggeration and hyperboles even then they have not made any false statements or constructed any hypothesis. In this way the history written in Asia is the custodian of the nation. It records the customs and conventions of the society.

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1. Zakauilah, Op. cit., p.52.

## PART B

### A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF HISTORICAL WORKS

With these remarks Zakauliah proceeds to write the comprehensive History of India in Urdu.

His historical works may be divided into two categories. In the first category falls the Tarikh-e-Hindustan in 17 volumes from ancient to modern period. 2 vols on ancient India, 10<sup>or</sup> Medieval<sup>by J. J.</sup> and 5 vols from the establishment of English east India Company to the period of Lord Lytton.

In the second category came a large number of his works as a contemporary historian including the biographies of Queen Victoria, Lord Curzon<sup>1</sup> and Hamidullah Khan, and volumes on British India and the Ain-i-Qaisari.<sup>2</sup>

#### CATEGORY -1

##### TARIKH-E-HINDUSTAN (HINDUHOOD MEN)

The volumes on ancient India are obviously based on secondary sources which have not been referred<sup>to</sup> in the text or introduction, as Zakauliah did not know Sanskrit language. Later he considerably enlarged these two volumes.<sup>3</sup>

1. The biography of Lord Curzon betterly known as Curzon, Nawab deals with the period between 1898-1905 in which the Lord had happened to be in command of India.
2. The Ain-i-Qaisari deals with the development of India under the rule of the Queen Victoria.
3. Zakauliah - Tarikh-e-Hindustan, Ahd-e-Sultanat-e-Hunood, Vol. I, 1980, pp. 1-2.

TARIKH-E-HINDUSTAN (SALTANAT-E-ISLAMIA KA BEYAN)

For Medieval India Zakaullah could utilise a number of original sources as he was familiar with Persian. He has mentioned the following sources.

1. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri of Minhaj-u-s-Siraj Juzjani

This is a general history from the earliest times upto 658 Hijra (A.D. 1259). Minhaj tells us that his ancestor in the third degree, Imam Abdu-l Khalik, came from Juzjan to Ghazni, during the reign of Ibrahim. Minhaj was appointed as the Qazi of the army of Hindustan by Muhammed Ghori in A.H. 502 (1186 A.D.).

2. Jawami-ul-Hikayat of Muhammad Auji

The full title of this work is Jawami'ul Hikayat wa Lawami'u-l Riwayat, "Collection of stories and illustrations of Histories", but it is commonly known by the shorter title prefixed to this article. The author was Maulana Nuru-ddin Muhammad Auji, who lived during the reign of Shamsu-ddin Altamash, to whose minister, Nizamu-l Mulk Muhammad, son of Abu Sa'id Junaidi, the book is dedicated.

3. Tarikh-i-Firozshahi of Ziauddin Barani

The book deals with the reign of eight monarchs from Ghayasuddin Balban to the Sixth Regional year of Firozshah.

4. Tarikh-i-Firozshahi of Shams-i Siraj Afif

This History of Firoz Shah is devoted conclusively to the reign of that monarch. Afif was descended from a family which dwelt at Abuhar, the country of Feroz Shah's Bhatti mother. His great grandfather, he says, was collector of the revenue of Abuhar, and was intimate with Ghiyasuddin Tughlik before he became Sultan. He himself was attached to the court of Firoz, and accompanied him on his hunting expeditions.

5. Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi of Yahya Bin Ahmad

The author of this work, Yahya bin Ahmad bin Abdullah Sirhindi, or Sirhendi, the older form of the name which he uses - wrote this work, with the express object of recording the events of the reign of Mubarak Shah, whose name he has given to the history. The work commences with the reign of Muhammad Sam, the founder of all Ghori dynasty, and the only copy of the Ms. available terminates abruptly in the middle of the reign of Sultan Saiyid Muhammad in 852 A. . (AD 1448). In his preface the author informs us that he wrote this work in the hope of presenting an acceptable tribute to his Sovereign, for "no more worthy offering can be made to a king than a record of the achievements of his predecessor".

6. Tarikh Rozatu-s-safa of Mirkhond

The full title of this work is Rauzatu-s Safa fi Siratul Nabia Rau-l Buluk Rau-l Khukfa. It was composed

by Mirkhond, or more correctly Mir Khawand, whose true name at length is Muhammad bin Khawand Shah bin Mahmud. He was born towards the close of the year 836 H., or the beginning of 837 A.D. 1433. The father of Mirkhond was Saiyid Surhanudin Khawand Shah, a native of Mawarau-n-nahr, who traced his pedigree to Hasan, the son of Ali.

7. Habibu-s Siyar of Khondamir

This famous history is also by Khondamir, and was written subsequent to the Khulasatut Akhbar, and in a much more extended form.

The Habib-us-Siyar was written at the desire of Muhammad al Husaini, who wished to have the facts of universal history collected into one volume. He died shortly after the work was begun, and the troubles which ensued induced our author for sometime to suspend his labours, untill an introduction to Karimu-d-din Habibullah, a native of Ardabil, encouraged him to them again with ardour. Habibullah was a great cultivator of knowledge, all his liesure hours were devoted to its acquisition, and he was particularly partial to history. It was after the name of this new patron that he entitled his work Habib-u-s Siyar. The author has made use of Rosatussafa.

This author has also left another work known as Qanun-e-Humayuni or Humayua Nama. This is only the work

contemporaneous to Humayun commissioned in 1533. While the other works of Gulbadan, Aftabshin and so on were written in Akbar's time.

8. Tarikh-e-Salatia<sup>Afghan</sup> of Ahmad Yadgar

This book written on the orders of Daud Shah contains informations from Bahlol Lodi to the execution of Hemu. Ahmad Yadgar, the author of this book was an old servant of the Sur Kings.

9. Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi of Nematullah

The author of the work was Nimatu-lla, who held the office of waki-nawis or historiographers at the court of Jahangir; and he tells us that his father, Khwaja Habibulla, of Hirat, passed thirty-five years in the service of Akbar. The Makhzan i Afghani and the Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan Lodi are frequently mentioned and referred to as separate works, but according to Elliot they are essentially one and the same. The Tarikh contains, in addition, a memoir of Khan-Jahan Lodi, from which the book takes its name, and it also gives a meagre history of the life of Jahangir.

10. Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Haider Mirza Dughlat

The writer of this valuable work was the son of this valuable work was the son of Muhammad Husain Mirza,

who was the eldest son of Haider Mirza Dughlat, Amir of Kashghar. Muhammad Husain married the younger sister of the Emperor Babar's mother. So our author, Haider Mirza, was first cousin of Babar. In Tarikh-i-Rashidi the author has recorded what he himself observed and what he learnt from the diligent enquiry.

11. Tabakat-i Akbari of Nizamu-d Din Ahmad, Bakshi

The author of this work styled in Tabakat-i Akbar Shahi, and it is so called by 'Abdul Kadir Badauni in his Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh; but the name by which it is best known in literary circles is Tabakat-i Akbari. It is also called, after the name of the author, Tarikh-i Nizami, and the author himself observes it as a fortunate coincidence that the word Nizami represents the date of its composition, Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad was the son of Khwaja Mukim Harawi, who served Babar, Mirza Askari, Humayun and Akbar. Khwaja Nizamuddin was also appointed first as the Diwan of Household and in 29th reignal year of Akbar he was appointed as the Bakshi of Gujarat.

12. Akbar Nama of Shaikh Abul Fazl

Abul Fazl born in 1551 was the son of Shaikh Mubarak, son of Shaikh Khizr, who emigrated from Sind to Hindustan. Abul Fazl was introduced at court in his

seventeenth year. He soon became the Prime Minister and was raised to the Mansab of 4000.

About Akbar Nama Elphinstone remarks, the author was a professed rhetorician, and is still the model of the unnatural style which is so much admired in India. He was, besides, a most assiduous courtier, eager to extol the virtue, to gloss over the crimes, and to preserve the dignity of his master and those in whom he was interested. His dates and his general statements of events are valuable; but he required constant attention, not so much to guard against his barefaced partiality, as against the prejudice which he draws on his favourites by his fawning and fulsome adulation of them.

13. Farikh-i Ferishta of Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah Ferishta

This work is by common consent, and not undecernedly, considered superior to all the General Histories of India. The author, Muhamad Kasim Hindu Shah, surnamed Ferishta, was born at Astarabad, on the borders of the Caspian sea, about A.D. 1570. His father, a learned man, by name Ghulam Ali Hindu Shah, left his native country, when our author was very young, and travelled into India. He eventually reached Ahmadnagar in the Dakhin, during the



reign of Murtaza Nizam Shah, and was appointed to instruct Miran Husain, the son of Murtaza, in the persian language. After the death of his father, Ferishta was appointed as the Counsellor of Sovereign and the Captain of the Guard. In the year 1589, Ferishta reached to the court of Bijapur, during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah. The King advised him to write a history avoiding the defeciencies about Decan of Rosatus safa and Tabqat-i Akbari. At the death of Akbar Ibrahim Adil Shah sent Ferishta to the Moghul Court to convey the condolence message of Akbar and congratulation for Jahangir's coronation.

The value of Ferikh-i-Ferishta commences from the Muhammadan period, the history of which he has compiled from the best sources available. It is also very full upon the minor dynasties, as might be expected from the circumstances under which it was written.

14. Iqbal Nama-i Jahangiri of Mir Tamad Khan

This is a valuable history by Nawab Mutamad Khan, commonly known as Muhammad Sharif, who states of himself in one portion of his work that he was appointed to the office of Paymaster, received a mansab of 1000, and was presented with an elephant by the Emperor as an honorary gift.

The Iqbal nama is divided into three volumes or parts. The first contains the history of the Khakhan dynasty, and includes the reigns of Babar and Humayun; the second contains the reign of Akbar; the third that of Jahangir. The first two parts are not common, but the third is to be found everywhere.

The third volume gives the entire reign of Jahangir, and the first nineteen years may be considered an abridgment of the Memoirs, which, has been seen in the article on the Memoirs, Mu'tamad Khan was directed to continue and complete.

15. Ma'asir-i Jahangiri of Kamgar Khan

This is the name given to the work of Khwaja Kamgar Ghairat Khan by Gladwin, who has abstracted from it copiously in his "History of Jahangir", printed at Calcutta in the year 1788. He calls the author Kamgar Husseeny. The author of the "Critical Essay on various Manuscript works", and James Fraser, in his abridged Moghul History, prefixed to his life of Nadir Shah, also call it the Ma-asir-i Jahangiri, and Muhammad Tahir Inayat Khan, in his preface to the History of Shah Jahan, says the author calls it by that name; but the author himself gives no name to the work, and native writers, as in the Ma'asiru-l Umara and the Muntakhabu-l-urbab, usually speak of it

simply under the name of Jahangir-nama.

Khwaja Kamgar was son of Sardar Khan, who came to court in the fourteenth year of Jahangir's reign, and received a tuxrel of Hajipur in Mungir and some parganas in Bihar. In the preface of his book Khwaja Kamgar informs us that in consequence of the incompleteness of the Emperor's autobiography, he had long contemplated supplying its deficiencies by writing a complete life himself; when he was at last induced to undertake it at the instigation of the Emperor Shah Jahan in the third year of his reign A.H. 1040 (A.D. 1630-1).

16. Ma-asirul Umara of Shah Nawaz Khan Shamsamud-Daula

This work consists of Biographical Dictionary of the illustrious men who have flourished in Hindustan and the Dekhin under the house of Timur from Akbar to 1155 A.H.

Amir Kamaluddin, the fifth ancestor of Shah Nawaz Khan, came from Khwaf to Hindustan in the reign of Akbar, whose service he entered; and his descendants held in succession some of the highest offices of state under the succeeding Emperors. Shah Nawaz Khan, whose original name was Abdu-r Raszak at Musaini, was born at Lahore in 1111 A.H. (1699 A.D.). Shah Nawaz served as Diwan of Bihar

under Asaf Jah, and subsequently chief minister of Salabat Khan tell his murder in 1171 A.H. (1757 A.D.).

17. Padshah Nama of Muhammad Amin Qazwini

The author of this work in his preface gives it the title of Padshah-nama, but, like several other histories of the reign of Shah Jahan, it is often called Shah-jahan-nama, and sometimes more specifically Tarikh-i Shah Jahani Ash-sala. The full name of the author is Muhammad Amin bin Abu-l Hasan Qazwini, Amnai Munshi, and Mirza Alina. He was the first who received orders to write History of the reign of Shah Jahan. The orders were given, he tells us, in the eight year of Shah Jahan, and he completed this work, comprising the history of the first ten years of the reign, and dedicated it to Shah Jahan in the twentieth year of that Emperor's reign.

18. Padshah Nama of Abul Hamid Lahori

This is a history of the first twenty years of the reign of Shah Jahan, composed by Abul Hamid Lahori. Little is known of the author, but Muhammad Salih, in his Amal-i Saleh, informs us that Abul Hamid was celebrated for beauty of his style, and that he died in 1065 A.H. (1654 A.D.). Abul Hamid himself says in his preface, that the Emperor desired to find an author who could write the memoirs of his reign in the style of Abul Fazl's Akbar Nama, and that he

Abul Hamid, had studied and greatly admired Abul Fazl's style. He was recommended to the Emperor for the work, and was called from Patna, where he was living in retirement, to undertake the composition.

19. Shah Jahan nama of Inayat Khan

Muhammad Jahir, who received the title of Inayat Khan, and was poetically named Ashna, was son of Zafar Khan bin Khwaja Abul Hasan.

Zafar Khan, the author's father was waris of Jahangir. In the reign of Shah Jahan, he was at one time ruler of Kabul, and afterwards of Kashmir, during which latter government he effected the conquest of Tibet. At a later period he was appointed to the administration of Thatta.

The author, it appears, was born in the year that Shah Jahan came to the throne. In the seventh year of his age he received, as he informs us, "a suitable mansab". He was sent to join his father in Kashmir while he was governor there. He was afterwards darogha-i dagh, and subsequently employed in a more congenial office in the Imperial Library. He was one of the intimate friends of Shah Jahan.

The sources of the first part of this Shah Jahan nama are plainly acknowledge by the author. The first twenty years are in entire agreement with the Badshahnama, but are

written in a more simple style. The history comes down to 1068 A.H. (1657-8 A.D.), the year in which Aurangzeb was declared Emperor, but of this even he takes no notice. The author does not inform us whether he used any other work after the Badshahnama as the basis of his own or whether the history of the last ten years is his own independent work.

20. Badshah Nama of Muhammad Waris

This work is also called Shah Jahan Nama. It is the completion of the Badshah-Nama of Abul Hamid by his pupil and assistant Muhammad Waris, who was appointed to carry on the work when his friend and master had become incapacitated by age. It embraces the last ten years of Shah Jahan's reign, from the beginning of the twenty first to the thirtieth year, in which his actual reign closed.

21. Amal-i Salih of Muhammad Salih Kamru

This, like the other histories of the reign of Shah Jahan, is sometimes called Shah Jahan-nama. It is a history of the reign of that Emperor from his birth to his death in 1076 A.H. (1665 A.D.). In the list of mansabdars of Shahjahan, Muhammad Salih is put down as commander of five hundred.

22. Alamgir-Nama of Muhammad Kazim

This work was written in 1688 A.D. by Mirza Muhammad Kazim, son of Muhammad Amin Munshi, the author of the Padshahnama. It contains a history of the first ten years of the reign of Alamgir Aurangzeb. It was dedicated to Aurangzeb in the thirty-second year of his reign; but on its being presented, the Emperor forbade its continuation.

23. Ma-asir-i Alamgiri of Muhammad Saki Mustaid Khan

This is a history of the origin of Alamgir (Aurangzeb). The first ten years is an abridgement of the work, the Alamgir Nama; the continuation till the death of Aurangzeb in A.D. 107 is an original composition. It was written by Muhammad Saki Mustaid Khan, Munshi to Inayatullah Khan, Wazir of Bahadur Shah. He had been a constant follower of the court for forty years, and an eye witness of many of the transactions he records. He undertook the work by desire of his patron, and finished it in A.D. 1716.

24. Waqai of Neamat Khan Aoli

The author is also known with his title 'Danishman'. He wrote this work in his Satiric style. The events occurred in the siege of Golconda have been recorded. He died in 1122 A.H. (1710 A.D.).

25. Jangnama of Niamat Khan

This "Book of War" is another production of Niamat Khan or Danishmand Khan, the writer of the Waqai. An abstract of the work prepared for Sir H. M. Elliot shows that it begins with the war carried on by Aurangzeb against the Rana of Udaipur, and ends with the accession of Bahadur Shah. The struggle which followed the death of Aurangzeb occupies a considerable portion of the work. A lithographed edition of the work was printed at Lucknow in 1261 A.H. (1845 A.D.).

26. Ruzat-i Alamgiri of Muhiuddin Alamgir (Aurangzeb)

These letters exhibit the private life and sentiments of the prince Aurangzeb.

There are three collections of his letters. First the Kalimat-i Taiyibat, Published by one of his chief Secretaries, 'Inayatu-Allah; the second, the Rakain-i Karain by the son of another Secretary and third, the Desturu-l Aml Agahi collected from all quarters thirty-eight years after his death. The first two collections profess to be merely the rough drafts or notes which he wrote with his own hand for his Secretaries. Most of the third collections have the same appearance. They are without dates or order, and are often obscure, from their brevity, and our ignorance of the subject alluded to.



27. Quran-us-Saden of Amir Khusro

Quran-us-Saden a poetical work of Amir Khusro, as its title shows, gives the description of the meeting of a father and son namely Bughra Khan and Qalqabad respectively.

28. Safar Namah of Ibn-e-Batutah

Ibn-e-Batutah, who travelled wide has written a trevalogue based on his own observations. He reached India in times of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and in the later period of his reign left to China. His observations about India warn the readers to make enquiries into the other contemporary sources too.

Besides these sources Zakauillah has not left the anther sources of medieval India untouched. He has reffered the sources like Tuzuk-i Babri (an autobiography of Babar) Tuzuk-i Jahangiri (an autobiography of Jahangir), Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh of Abdul Qadir Ibn-i Muluk Shah Badaoni<sup>1</sup>, Makhsan-i Afghani of Nematullah Khan, Muntakhab-ul-lubab of Qafi Khan, Tarikh-e-Wadiye Abdullah, Zafar Nama Malyezdi of Sharfuddin Manervi, Tarikh-e-Kashmir of Narain Kanwal, Tarikh-e-Gujarat of Mohd Abdullah Zafarul Walih, Tarikh-e-Salateen Nizam Shahi of Ahmad Nagar, Debistan-i Muzahib of Mohsin Khan Kashmiri, Waqiat-e-

1. Supra.

Saleem Shahi, Futahat-e-Alamgiri of Ishwar Das Nagar, Adab-e-Alamgiri of Mohd. Muhiuddin Alamgir and Tarikh-e-Fatah-e-Assam by Shahabuddin Talish Khan. Zakaullah also studied a number of other persian and English books<sup>1</sup>, and has also corroborated the events by the numismatic sources<sup>2</sup>. Most probably, he has quoted Portuguese accounts, not original but from other sources.

In describing controversial events Zakaullah prefers the statements of contemporary historians and the information supplied by the eye witnesses. For instance, for the battle of chausa between Humayun and Shershah he prefers Mirza Haider, the author of Tarikh-i-Rashidi who was present at the scene. For a balanced approach and to understand Akbar's religious outlook Zakaullah has consulted and quoted both Abul Fazal and Badayuni.

He has given Portugese version also which projected Akbar as a Christian. The exchange of missionaries and their letters were also taken into consideration. Zakaullah does not blindly believe in informations available in the sources but his penetrating eye could go into the depth of the event.

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1. Regarding Aurangzeb he states that 15 books in Persian were written in his period but none of them is satisfactory, Vol. VIII.

2. Zakaullah, Tarikh-e-Hindustan, (Ahd-e-Saltanat-e-Islamia Ka Bayan) Vol. I, p. 254.

Similarly for the regional histories, he does not ignore the regional sources, for instance he consulted Tarikh-i Masoomi and Tarkhan-nama for the family Arghoon, for the history of Kashmir English and Persian translations of Raj Tarangini, for Gujrat to Ratanmala of Brahman Krishnji. Thus in the analysis of sources, Zakauallah appears inferior to none not only of his own day but even to the modern age also.

#### SELECTION OF FACTS

Regarding the selection of facts Zakauallah has a wider approach and has high lighted almost all the important topics which all the modern historians have dealt with. This becomes evident when his History <sup>is</sup> compared with the modern works like,

Cambridge Shorter History of India of S. Allah, (Delhi, 1958).

A Short History of Indian People from Earliest time to present Day, (Calcutta, 1963) of Tara Chand

History of Medieval India of Ishwari Prasad (Allahabad, 1952).

Medieval History of India of Meera Singh (New Delhi, 1978)

Medieval History of India (1000-1707 A.D.) of L.P. Sharma (New Delhi, 1981).

Comprehensive History of India V.5 of M. Habib & K.A.Nizami (New Delhi, 1982).

The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India of A.B.N. Habibullah,  
(Allahabad, 1961).

The Delhi Sultanate (History and Culture of Indian People)  
of R.C. Majumdar, (Bombay, 1967).

Political History & Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire  
of Delhi 1206-1290 A.D. of A. Aziz Ahmad.

From Akbar to Aurangzeb of A.H. Moreland (N. Delhi, 1972).

Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire of R.K. Tripathi  
(Allahabad, 1978).

Evolution of Indian Culture of B.N. Luniya

Life and Culture in Medieval India of B.N. Luniya (Indore,  
1978).

Zakaullah, it appears, is conscious in providing the race and tribes of Indian rulers to which they originally belonged.<sup>1</sup> Our author does not seem inferior to none in the analysis of the role of the nobility<sup>2</sup>, Agrarian measure and market control of Allauddin Khalji, early difficulties of Humayun<sup>3</sup>, the period of regency, religious moves of Akbar<sup>4</sup>, Role of Nurjahan<sup>5</sup>, role of Asaf Khan after

1. Ibid., Vol. I pp. 350-375.  
Vol. II pp. 1, 2.

2. Ibid, Vol. I pp. 390, 393.  
Vol. II pp. 26-33, 35.  
Vol. V pp. 871-931, 949-964.

3. Ibid, Vol. III, pp. 156-165.

4. Ibid, Vol. V, pp. 13-14, 35, 39, 43, 45, 49, 64.

5. Ibid, Vol. VI, pp. 76-228-229, 232.

death of Jahangir, Bulkh and Badakshan campaign<sup>1</sup>, War of succession, so called anti Hindu policies of Aurangzeb and his Deccan wars.<sup>2</sup>

He has devoted a good portion of his chapter on Aurangzeb to the rise of Marathas their character and technique of warfare<sup>3</sup>. He has given the full background of Sikhism, its origin, development, the condition of their Gurus and later on contemptuous attitude of this community in the result of which Baba Banda, a leader of the Sikh appointed by Guru Govind Singh was sentenced to death by Farrukhsyar<sup>4</sup>.

Zakauliah sometimes compared Mughal institutions with those of the British, for example, Babar's Munjanqs and ammunition with the guns of the British army and then impresses upon his readers that the Mughal were not far behind the English.

His comparative study again reflects in the description of laws of Akbar. According to him these laws were effective to work in India even in the time of British

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1. Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 336-344, 362-363, 390.

2. Ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 471, 47, 486.

3. Zakauliah, op. cit., Vol. IX, pp. 33-35.

4. Ibid, Vol. IX, pp. 46-48, 57-58, 122-127, 204, 206.

rule<sup>1</sup> because they were in accordance with the local conventional laws.<sup>2</sup> Similarly Mughal taxation did not prove to be burdensome on the Indian people for they spent the money in the country while the British Company utilized it for its own country's welfare. Yet Zakaulah, appreciates some of the British measures and admits that the British government very consciously imposed light taxes.<sup>3</sup>

Zakaulah has given detailed information about the coins and weights under various Sultan in a consolidated form at one place.<sup>4</sup>

Coming to the end of this portion of his Tarikh, Zakaulah presents a fine account of civil strife amongst the sons and grandsons of Aurangzeb and reaches the conclusion with rapid approach.<sup>5</sup> Zakaulah thus has brought down the narration of the Mughal History till 1657 in the

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1. Even the British writers have accepted this fact and J. Talboys Wheeler remarks "Mughal administration has been help up as a model for British institution. J. Talboys Wheeler op. cit., Delhi, 1975, p. XI.
  2. Zakaulah, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 606.
  3. Zakaulah, op. cit., Vol. VIII, p. 487.
  4. Ibid, Vol. X, Aligarh 1919, pp. 26-29.
  5. See Tarikh-e-Hindustan Vol. X IX for detailed study. Tarikh-e-Hindustan Vol. X, p.1.

ninth volume. It may be pointed out here that he had been an eyewitness to the events of at least the last decade of the Mughal rule because he was 25 in 1857. But curiously enough he supplies no additional information for this period and skips over this crucial period silently. This was probably due to the fact that on the one hand he was loyal to the Mughal dynasty and could not criticise and expose the weaknesses of the Mughals, and on the other he, could not openly criticise the British because he was associated with the Sir Syed movement.

The tenth volume of the Tarikh seems to be the conclusion of the book from the times of Hindu Rajas down to Bahadur Shah, which is a summary of James Mills History of British India, Vol. 1, New Delhi, 1978. Therefore, Zakauallah may not be responsible for the views of Mill expressed here, without any criticism.

The remarkable features of Mill's book are for instance, the Muslims were superior to the Hindus in the field of administration, Malguzari system of Akbar, Architecture, Road Construction, Poetry etc.

The second category - In this category we may include Zakauallah, following works;

1. The History of British India, five vols. (i.e. 13th to 17th of his History).

2. The biography of Lord Curzon.
3. Ain-i-Aisari
4. Biography of the Queen Victoria
5. Maharbat-e-Azim; the description of British wars in other colonies under the rule of Queen Victoria.
6. The biography of Samiullah Khan (a close associate of Zakauallah).

First three books are certainly related with the history of India.

TARIKH-E-HINDUSTAN (AHDE-ENGLISIA MEN)

In order to maintain continuity with the past, Zakauallah after the conclusion of his history of medieval India down to the fall of the Moghal empire in 1857, turns his attention towards the history of British India. In the first volume of the British history he writes that he has described the history of the English East India Company right from its beginning down to its fall and that as to how a merchant class entered India and carved out a dynasty which equalled the Roman Empire and many others in its glory pomp and show.<sup>1</sup>

Zakauallah begins this part of history from Vasco de Gama's Discovery of India. But the first three volumes

1. Zakauallah Tarikh-e-Hindustan, Ahde Saltanat Englisia, Vol. IV, Delhi, 1880, p.1.



are not of much significance in the eyes of the author. He therefore commences the detailed history of the British with the 'auspicious day' of the undertaking of India by the Queen Victoria under the direct control.<sup>1</sup> Long historical perspective spreading over fifteen hundred pages is otherwise of great importance for those who have no background of European struggle for power. Avoiding the causes of Indian grievances against the English East India Company, Zakaulah directly shelves the responsibility on the natives of England that a voice was raised from almost all corners of the country appealing the crown to look into the grievances of Indian masses otherwise England could loose the rich colony.<sup>2</sup>

First three volumes of this book are of great significance for not only to those who are interested in reading the history of East India Company but also equally significant for the researchers who are to go in to the depth of the history of India with special reference to the forces working hard for the weakening of Mughal Empire. This portion is also helpful to determine the causes of the fall of the Mughal empire because the Mughal kings, out of their pre-occupation in civil war, luxury of life struggling for their personal rule had no alternative but to allow foreigners to take extra latitude to the extent to

1. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

2. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

which they desired. A position reaches when there was no military force to mediate between the French and the English army fighting on the Indian soil.<sup>1</sup>

Regional histories of the period till 1857 on Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, Karnataka, Orissa etc. may also be constructed on the basis of informations available in this portion of Zakaullah's Tarikh.

The style of the analysis of the sources of the history of East India Company is almost the same as in his Tarikh-e-Hindustan relating to medieval India. That is to say, the contemporary records of the company, the historians written by Indian writers of the time, the British parliamentary proceedings of enactment and the company laws were taken into consideration by Zakaullah.

These volumes, like earlier portions undertakes the history on the Indian pattern of history writing. The book gives a description of the events in the chronological order simply the kings of India were replaced by the British Lords and this history appears as the history of the Lords. The author does not conceal the facts like the conquest of the Indian fortresses by the British company in a gradual process<sup>2</sup> or the British policy of divide and rule

1. Ibid, vol. I, p. 183, 566, 586.

2. Ibid, p. 596.

for instance diplomatic relations with the Nawab of the Karnataka, Nizam of Hyderabad etc. Zakaullah especially described that the weaknesses of the Indian government were not unknown to the company and a secret committee was set up to make an inquiry into the decisions of the Indian government<sup>1</sup> towards company's activities.

In the IVth and V volume of this British period Zakaullah has described the events after the revolt. Following the revolt of 1857, the Queen's proclamation of 1858 established peace to some extent and people of India felt relief.<sup>2</sup> The description of the company's force, the uprisings of English at Burhampur, the initiative of the British government to unite the forces of the company and the government, judicial administration of British Indian government etc. are of great importance.<sup>3</sup>

Zakaullah also gives a detailed description of the construction of railways, roads and canals which were fruitful for the English on the one hand and for the Indians in future on the other.<sup>4</sup>

The author makes references to the time of Lord Lytton whom he projects as a great reformer of the

1. Ibid., p. 638.

2. Ibid, vol. IV, p.13.

3. Ibid., 21,23,25.

4. Ibid., pp. 44,45.

administration of India and a great educationist specially devoted to M.A.O. Colleges development.

## 2. CURZON NAMAH

The Curzon Namah deals with natural calamities like famine and plague<sup>1</sup> in the time of Curzon, management of frontier states and their expenditure budget (including the general one)<sup>2</sup>, currency reforms, allegations made and charges levelled against Curzon by the Indians and their refutation by Lord Curzon<sup>3</sup>, railway-transport and agrarian reforms<sup>4</sup>, educational reforms, reforms in police administration<sup>5</sup>, commerce and industry<sup>6</sup> and home affairs<sup>7</sup> (relations with the States of Gwalior, Jaipur, Bahawalpur, Alwar, Bengal etc.)

Thus it appears that the book was produced in order to present a detailed account of the reforms of the Lord Curzon in different fields of administration in India which starts from the date of his assuming office in Calcutta on 6 January 1899. Zakauallah himself admits that his primary aim to write this book is to demonstrate the administrative reforms of Lord Curzon.

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1. Zakauallah, Curzon Namah, pp. 18,19,23,29.

2. Ibid, pp. 37,40,44,47,53,55,56.

3. Ibid, pp. 63,66,78,83.

4. Ibid, pp.85,92,93,94,107,109,152,153,161,451-452.

5. Ibid, pp. 275.

6. Ibid, pp. 314-328.

7. Ibid, pp. 398-404,406,450-451,411,413,415.

This books has been compiled on the basis of the speeches of Lord Curzon edited by Sir Thomas, Sir Wally<sup>1</sup> and also Newspapers and journals containing anti-Curzon information.<sup>2</sup>

Zakaulah in between the lines, speaks that the Viceroy who is expected to be appointed directly by the crown is powerless to appoint his own assistants. One member to the legislative council was added with the prior permission of the Secretary of state<sup>3</sup> (not with the permission of the crown).

Zakaulah being associated with Sir Syed was the supporter of the policy of reconciliation towards the British. Sir Syed had welcomed the educational reforms of Lord Curzon. Those who opposed his measures including the congress were considered as the enemies of Muslim cause by Zakaulah. He also invited Maulana Abul Kasim 'Nahnotvi' a great critic of Sir Syed's movement to have a glance on the progress of the Lahore Islamia College and compare it with that of Aligarh and see the success of the later one supported by the British. It was the government, says

1. It is not clear from the text whether 'Sir Thomas Sir Wally' are two names.
2. Ibid, pp. 1,10.
3. Ibid, pp. 11,15.

Zakaullah, which provided the facility of military education to the Indian youngsters through Kumar College. As soon as the education has over, the students were recruited as Commissioned Officer in the army. Thus Indians also took part in the affairs of their own fellow beings. The records of the proceedings of the Simla Conferences (1901-1905) are of great value for those who are interested in making enquiry into the history of education of this time. Zakaullah is all praise for the education policy of Lord Curzon. Establishment of residential universities, raising the standard of education re-organisation of the resources to be incurred on education, Education Commission to look into the grievances of Indians are the crux of Zakaullah's Curzon Namah.<sup>1</sup>

In 1905 the recommendation of Lord Curzon for the appointment of Lord Kitchener General Mirad with Bero as the member supply in the army created a conflict between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. After a long correspondence in this regard Lord Curzon had to resign from his post. Thus Curzon Namah does not ignore the mutual conflicts of the powerful English persons and furnishes a detailed account in this connection.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid, pp. 186-233, 244, 245, 249, 393, 238, 239.

2. Ibid, pp. 440, 441-442, 442-443, 444-445.

With the establishment of Congress party the political horizon was dominated in fact by some influential Hindus ignoring the interest of Muslim Community. Congress party tried its best to work as if they are the only representatives of thirty crores of people in India. Zakaullah is a sharp critic of this approach and to some extent, if it is taken into consideration in the perspective of Aligarh movement, he is not out of track. The clash of Congress party with the British government on the one hand and the policy of reconciliation of Sir Syed and his movement on the other were knit together with the approach of Zakaullah's role in the achievement of Sir Syed's objective is not insignificant and the admiration of Lord Curzon and criticism of congress activities are bound to be a point of analysis. All anti-government and anti-Sir Syed policies of Congress have been severely criticised by Zakaullah. He makes it clear that the congress party was dominated by the Hindus and majority of the Muslims remained isolated from the Congress and was struggling for the future.

Zakaullah is also an admirer of relief measures initiated by Lord Curzon in regard to the draught affected people of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa etc. He admits that none of the Viceroys, prior to Lord Curzon ever visited any affected area. Curzon, out of his sympathy towards Indian masses set

up an enquiry commission to investigate into the reasons of draught and famine and to table its recommendation to avoid them in future.<sup>1</sup>

BIOGRAPHY OF QUEEN VICTORIA

This book is a biography of the Queen of England and contains no information on about India.

The sources of Zakaullah for this biography are Queen's diary, Early Years of Prince Albert Consort, Memoires of Greville, Life of Prince Consort of Sir Theodore Martin, A biography of Queen Victoria (author not known) and the diary of Lord Shifton etc.<sup>2</sup>

Zakaullah gives a detailed description of geneological relations of Queen Victoria.<sup>3</sup>

Following the description of geneology and birth of Queen Victoria, ( 1819 A.D. ) Zakaullah proceeds to supply the informations of heir - apparent of the Crown, life history of Queen Victoria till her coronation and marriage, the coronation of Queen Victoria including a detailed description of its customary traditions, cheerful congratulations, dress etc. Special mention of party politics i.e. the interplay of Whigs with the Tory's Constitution of Parliament has also

1. Ibid, pp.18,19,23,29.

2. Zakaullah, Javane Umri Malka Victoria, Delhi 1904, pp. 32-33,15,93,128.

3. Ibid, pp.1,6.



been made, Prince Alberts activities, the days of Prime Minister Melbourne - relation between crown and the ministers, crown and parliament, prime minister and parliament are of great importance while luxury and pleasures and detailed description of the events of the years between 1854 to 1901 are mentioned briefly.

Zakaullah's book is full of the information about the nobility, Lords, parties and clash with the crown. On the pretext of various reasons the powers of the crown were infact gradually curtailed but Zakaullah attaches some convincing reasons as to why the powers were taken from the crown, for example by this time it was the crown who finally gave consent for the sentence to death. A decision of the court for sentence to death awarded to a soldier was put before the queen for her final approval. The queen being a woman was bound to be kind hearted<sup>1</sup> enough therefore she pardoned the criminal. Following the queen's decision such proposals were never put before her again and the Commission was empowered to finalise such decision of judiciary.<sup>2</sup>

Zakaullah also speaks of army arrangement and postal administration. In his opinion British postal administration was defective in the sense that those who could pay higher price, remained exempted e.g. Parliament Members

1. Before Queen Victoria, England was crowned by the Queen Mary Tudor (1553-1558), Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603), Queen Anne (1702-1814) etc. But none of them the power.
2. Servane Umri Malka Victoria, pp. 97,98.

and the government, and those who were at a loss to pay a single penny were forced to bear the entire burden. Queen Victoria, by virtue of her generosity announced a uniform policy that distance would make no difference and the personal letter of the parliament members would equally be charged.<sup>1</sup>

AIN-I-PAISARI

This book appears to have been a book of public administration which was gradually streamlined by different Lords of the crown from the colonization of India till the arrival of Lord Curzon. The objective that Zakauliah wanted to achieve is evident from his own statements available in the very beginning of the preface the book. Zakauliah writes that "before putting on the record observations, extracts from the writings of the wisemen of learning and the enlightened men possessed of lofty ideas, the narratives of the progress and governance of India for the understanding of which the power of comprehension is needed. I propose to relate the developments in India which I have observed with my own eyes. These are trifles such as every person can understand and see for himself".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid, pp.3,5,6,192.

2. Zakauliah Ain-i-paisari, Delhi, 1904, p.1.

The trifles, in the development and progress of India to affect manufacturers, are for instance greater, match sticks were replaced by the smaller ones or Indian earthen wares were replaced by the utensils of china clay. Similarly the development in dress material and lighting arrangements etc (giving a long description of the reforms Zakaullah concludes that):

The Ain-i-Waisari deals with the transfer of Power from the company to the British crown<sup>1</sup>, expansion of the British rule in India<sup>2</sup>, Fortification of the frontiers<sup>3</sup>, Diwani and Faujdari laws<sup>4</sup>, growth of the judicial, new judicial administration<sup>5</sup>, civil administration<sup>6</sup>, Provincial administration<sup>7</sup>, Society<sup>8</sup>, growth of education with new tendencies and problems<sup>9</sup>, military administration with its historical background<sup>10</sup>, internal administration of the

1. Ibid, part I, pp.10,26.

2. Ibid, p.14.

3. Ibid, p.19.

4. Ibid, p. 49,53.

5. Ibid, pp.50,58,69-70.

6. Ibid, p.74.

7. Ibid, p.96.

8. Ibid, Part II, pp. 1,8,40.

9. Ibid, pp. 48,54,57,58,60,61,62,65,66,69.

10. Ibid, p.80.

the government<sup>1</sup>, revenue administration<sup>2</sup>, agrarian policy<sup>3</sup>, growth of industries including drain of wealth<sup>4</sup>, public works<sup>5</sup>, construction of railways<sup>6</sup>, trade and commerce<sup>7</sup>, municipal administration<sup>8</sup>, and position of Indians in the Executive<sup>9</sup>.

Main characteristics of this book are the availability of the material which was probably provided for the first time in Urdu books. Details of the revenue and expenditure have also been demonstrated through the tables. Similarly the growth of population in one decade has also been explained in the same way.

The book is certainly of great value on the basis of informations available therein. The objectivity in the approach should be explained in the light of the facts that there are certain limitations of a contemporary historian.

Giving a long description of the reforms Zakaulah concludes that:

1. Ibid, Part I, pp.61-62, Part II, pp.91-101.
2. Ibid, p.139.
3. Ibid, p.155.
4. Ibid, p.133.
5. Ibid, p.148.
6. Ibid, p.153.
7. Ibid, Part III, pp.1-9.
8. Ibid, p.10.
9. Ibid, p.25.

"Now I finish my book. My belief is that persons of infirm intelligence who err and fall victim to deception in the matter of cognizance of goodness, virtues and blessing of the British government will, by reading it be delivered of the errors and misconceptions".<sup>1</sup>

Maharbat-i-Azim

The Maharbat-i-Azim also appears to have been a part of the biography of Queen Victoria. This brief book gives certain informations about the relations and wars of Britain with other countries which include Crimea, China, opium wars, Sudan, Afghanistan, Transwal, France, German, Italy, Abisinia, Prussia, Austria and South Africa.<sup>2</sup> It also contains information about civil strife of American States Canada, Newzealand, Japan etc.<sup>3</sup> Afghanistan<sup>4</sup> has been a point of special attention, for, it leads to a way reaching India.

In this book the focal point of Zakaulah is not the Crown but it is the Prime Minister. In fact the governing body, for all practical purposes, was the Prime Minister and his cabinet colleagues.

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1. Ibid, Part III, p.28.

2. Zakaulah, Maharbat-i-Azim, Delhi, 1904, pp. 1, 28, 57, 25, 35, 47, 64, 65, 70.

3. Ibid, pp. 37, 39, 42, 45.

4. Ibid, p.59.

The book also contains some useful informations about, foreign relation, trade agreement between England and other countries for example France<sup>1</sup>, Ireland, Poland, Jamaika, Turkey, Russia and Egypt<sup>2</sup>. The abolition of the practice of selling military offices, and the abolition of the taxes on paper material<sup>3</sup>, purchase of the shares in Switz canal<sup>4</sup> and Jewish membership of the parliament<sup>5</sup> are also mentioned.

#### Biography of Maulvi Samiullah Khan

Zakaullah begins the biography of his friend Samiullah Khan with his birth and ends it with his death. It is probably the last of the literary achievements of Zakaullah. Not much was known about Samiullah Khan's personal life prior to this book. Samiullah was one of the close associates of Zakaullah and a founder member of N.A.O. School. Despite his preoccupation in judicial service, Samiullah devoted himself to the education of the Muslim community. The aim of Sir Syed and Samiullah Khan did not basically differ yet the spirit of the approach was not identical. Samiullah, probably because of his own bent of

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1. Ibid, pp. 36.

2. Ibid, pp.44,51,60,72.

3. Ibid, pp.41,55.

4. Ibid, p.67.

5. Ibid, p.34.

mind and education of traditional pattern, favoured the same where as Sir Syed was the spokesman of the westernized education. A point soon reached that Samiullah Khan was bound to refrain himself from the Aligarh movement. Zakaullah keeping in view his close association with Sir Syed and his movement and friendly relations and sincerity of Samiullah Khan, found himself between the deep sea and the ditch. Zakaullah deemed it better to avoid recording the differences of Samiullah Khan with Sir Syed.

The analytical study of this biography goes to suggest that complete silence over this issue is the directive to the reader to consult any other contemporary source for the fulfilment of his objectives. Reference may be made to Aligarh gazette, Government gazetteer, Proceedings of A.L.O. College Management Committee, Hayat-e-Sir Syed by Noorul Rehman etc. The differences were open on the issue of the Secretaryship of the Managing Committee. Sir Syed, on the advice of his English mates nominated his son Syed Mahmud to succeed him. For this purpose the election of Joint Secretary was favoured, in which Syed Mahmud succeeded. Samiullah Khan disagreed and the exchange of letters took place. Both, Sir Syed and Samiullah Khan, made Syed Mahmud's election as a prestige issue in which Samiullah Khan was bound to quit the Aligarh movement.

### CONCLUSION

The period of the first half of the 19th century is marked with political upheaval, financial crisis, and socio religious chaos. From 1765, the Moghal emperor was made a pensioner of English East India Company. After the British conquest of Delhi in 1803 the powers of the Moghal emperor Bahadur Shah II were curtailed in a gradual manner, to the extent that he could even not nominate his successor.

The financial condition of the Indians in general and the Muslims in particular received a severe set back when their basic source of Income (Land) was taken away by force.

When the movements to overthrow the British had failed, many a leader of India adopted the policy of reconciliation which paved the way for the development of the mission of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. The scholars like Zakaullah, Shibli, Hali and others joined the mission of Sir Syed who considered the education as the only weapon to improve the condition of Indians.

Zakaullah (1832-1910) was certainly one of the most outstanding scholars of India. He has produced more than 150 books, on various subjects apart from a number of articles published in different learned journals of his age.



No historical work can be claimed as perfect one. Controversies are bound to arise and prolong; historians agree to disagree. The historical works of Zakaulah may be over estimated or underestimated but one could safely conclude that:

Zakaulah is the first Indian historian who compiled a comprehensive history of India from the ancient to the modern time. It is based on the contemporary and reliable sources which were available to Zakaulah.

In the selection of facts he has picked up the themes which are very much relevant even to the modern period and which have attracted the attention of almost all the modern scholars. His approach is objective.

On the basis of these facts his Tarikh-e-Hindustan is certainly a pioneer work in the field of Urdu historiography particularly related to medieval India. Unfortunately his tradition of writing or translating into Urdu books on vital subjects was not continued after him.

## APPENDIX

### THE FATVAH OF SHAH ABDUL-AZIZ IN REGARD TO CALL THE MUSLIMS TO WAGE A HOLY WAR AGAINST THE BRITISH (ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

"In this city (Delhi) the Imam al-Muslimin wields no authority. The real power rates with Christian Officers. There is no check on them; and the promulgation of the commands of 'Kufr' means that in administration and justice, in matters of law and order, in the domain of trade, finance and collection of revenues - every where the 'kuffar' (infidels) are in power. Yes, these are certain Islamic rituals e.g. Friday and Id prayers, adhah and Cow slaughter, with which they brook no interference; but the very root of all these rituals is of no value to them. They demolish mosques without the least hesitation and no Muslim or any dhimmi can enter into the city or its suburbs but with their permission. It is in their own interests if they do not object to the travellers and traders to visit the city. On the other hand, distinguished persons like Shujaul-Mulk and Velayeti Begum cannot dare visit the city without their permission. From here (Delhi) to Calcutta the Christians are in complete control. There is no doubt that in principalities like Hyderabad, Rampur, Lucknow etc., they have left the administration in the hands of the local authorities, but it is because they have accepted their lordship and have submitted to their authority."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Faruqi, Loc. cit.

pp. 2-3.

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